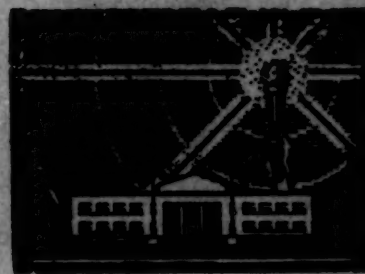


# THE SOCIAL STUDIES



A PERIODICAL  
FOR TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

VOLUME XLVI, NUMBER 7

NOVEMBER, 1955

# AMERICA IS MY COUNTRY

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*"The Heritage of a  
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For social studies, history or citizenship classes, as a patriotic reader in English classes, and in courses correlating English and social studies, AMERICA IS MY COUNTRY vividly recounts our national heritage — what it is, how it evolved, and the challenge it is facing today and may face in the future.

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## As the Editor Sees It

Our society is gradually becoming one of youth and old age. The birth rate has soared while medical discoveries have prolonged life many years. Soon our middle-aged group will be limited to the comparatively small number who were born between the two great wars. Their problems during their productive years are certain to be burdensome, though unemployment should not be among them. The responsibility for both the young and the old, however, will be a charge on that generation that will be disproportionately heavier than ever before. "Never will so many owe so much to so few."

Those who were born between 1920 and 1940 are just now entering the two decades of their lives when their activity, their earning power, and their responsibility will be greatest. They are just now beginning to take over the reins of power from their elders. They are inheriting the earth. At the same time they are inheriting a social and economic situation probably unparalleled. On the one hand is an older generation just relinquishing control. Because of lengthened life span, greater social benefits, and earlier retirement, this older group will constitute a far heavier burden on the middle generation than was ever true before. On the other side is a generation of youth, enormous in numbers. This segment of the coming social pattern will also form a far greater economic burden on the productive group. For not only are they larger in numbers, but they will re-

main an expensive charge on society for several more years than was ever true before. The middle generation is committed to keeping its youth in school at least through the 12th grade, on the average. Furthermore, it is committed to supporting them in the Armed Services for two or more years in addition. It has already become the common pattern that a young man is not self-supporting until he is over 20 years of age. In any of the professions, he is likely to be nearer 30.

It is difficult to analyze the effects of this coming situation on our social organization. One is justified in assuming that both higher salaries and higher taxes will be inevitable. In the field of education, the demand for qualified and experienced teachers will far exceed the supply, and the opportunities for capable leaders will be much greater than they are today. There will be a steadily growing need for people qualified in various types of social service, since the proportion of those using some form of public welfare will be greater than ever before. There will be an increasing expenditure on amusement, travel, and recreation, since a larger portion of the population will be unemployed. All in all, the wide variety of new trends and problems to be faced in the next quarter century should provide an endless and fascinating study for the social scientist, and perhaps a source of fruitful discussion in our classrooms.



# Trends in the Teaching of Social and Intellectual History

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The expansion of history as a field of study and as an intellectual discipline during the past half-century has been accompanied by militant attacks upon the fortress of traditional methodology. Aggressive rebels have stormed its walls and sniped at its veteran defenders, while the traditional historian occasionally has sallied forth in spirited counter-attack, firmly denying that all is subjective and asserting that there does exist a body of ascertainable historic fact which man may accept with as much confidence as he can embrace any other body of knowledge. The most serious breach in the fortress, however, has been from sapping operations, in which aggressors, using new weapons borrowed from allied disciplines, have set mines under the walls, charging that "truth" is unattainable, that man can approach only inanimate phenomena without prejudice, and that history has value only as a tool to be used by the social scientist in his shaping of the future. Paraphrasing Fichte, they assert that the historian's inevitable, if not his noblest, work must be the shaping of reality by means of his ideas, whatever the cloak in which he may wrap them.

The nineteenth century controversy between the various patterns of determinism and the "progressive" idea that the historian should use his art in shaping a more perfect society resulted, among other things, in a growing conviction among American historians that history was more than a record of campaigns political and military. George B. Emerson, Edward Eggleston, John B. McMaster, James Harvey Robinson, and others, no doubt influenced to some extent by German emphasis on *kulturgeschichte* and by the work of such historians as Buckle, Green, and Lamprecht, asserted that the proper study of man really is man himself,

in all his actions, thoughts, and aspects. The publication of Charles and Mary Beard's *The Rise of American Civilization* and of the multi-volumed *History of American Life* was at once an evidence of the appearance of social history in America and a stimulus toward its development. The popularity of these works and of the studies of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Merle Curti, Ralph Gabriel, Vernon L. Parrington, and their students gives some indication of the extent to which interest in this broader history has grown within the last quarter-century.

A movement closely associated with the rise of social history has been the development of intellectual history, a trend which one observer<sup>1</sup> considered "the outstanding cumulative achievement" in American historiography in the decade 1939-49. If, as Arthur M. Schlesinger once wrote,<sup>2</sup> the social historian attempts to "distinguish between what men do and what they say," or, as another scholar recently phrased it,<sup>3</sup> to find out "how men and women of all classes actually lived," the intellectual historian is interested in the presence of ideas and in their distribution, both as an active process and as a pattern, rather than in the history of the intellectuals as a class or a group. The intellectual historian, to paraphrase Schlesinger's comment, attempts to distinguish between what men do and what they think. In so doing he may invade provinces sacrosanct to his colleagues in sociology, political science, economics, philosophy, and religion, although not in a formal sense.

The growth of these two active fields of study—social history and intellectual history—and their even less rigidly defined companion, cultural history, is apparent from the most casual examination of the bibliographies and lists of

research in progress. As Charles A. Barker and John Higham have shown in illuminating articles,<sup>4</sup> many young scholars have entered these fields in recent years. The professional historian in America today usually is a teaching historian, whatever his research interests. It is not surprising, then, to find that formal courses in social-intellectual-cultural history are now offered in many American colleges and universities. In the academic year 1952-53 such courses were listed in the bulletins of approximately 200 American colleges of liberal arts with enrollments of 200 or more. Information obtained from 75 per cent of the institutions offering courses in this general area indicates that these courses are quite new, 60 per cent having been initiated since 1945. Not only are the courses new, but usually they are offered by young men who only recently began to teach. Of those reporting, 65 per cent had taught less than 10 years, and only 35 per cent were veterans of more than 20 years experience. The relatively recent character of the field is further shown by the fact that in 1952-53, of approximately 150 instructors for whom data is available, 61 per cent had taught the course then offered 5 years or less. Further, while complete statistics are not available, many, perhaps most, of the men now offering courses in this area did not concentrate in social or intellectual history while in graduate school, and some have had no formal training whatever in the field. In some institutions, however, courses in social and intellectual history are offered by men who have been trained in American Civilization or American Studies programs.

Courses in social and intellectual history are characterized by a wide diversity in subject matter. Instructors offering these courses apparently have not yet reached any firm understanding of or agreement on the scope of the field in which they are teaching and writing. The courses currently being offered in American colleges often can be said to lie in either social or intellectual history only by the most generous definition, the broadest delimitation. While such a condition is neither surprising nor distressing, there is a remarkable variation in definition and statement of scope, purpose, and aim, as stated in the descriptive paragraphs in college bulletins. Such statements obviously are inadequate as illuminating and reliable evidence

of what actually is presented in the classroom. But they show—or should show—what the instructor is trying to do. If we may judge ourselves by our public statements of our intentions, social-intellectual-cultural historians are far from any mutual understanding of scope and subject matter.

Course titles range from the broadest and most general in wording to relatively specific terminology. "Social and Cultural History of the United States," "American Society," "The American Idea in the Modern World," "Social and Intellectual History of the United States," "History of American Culture," "History of American Thought" and "Intellectual History of the United States" are typical titles, selected at random. If the descriptive notations are to be accepted as even mildly indicative (and little more can be said for them, probably), there is little relationship between the title of the course and the subject matter presented. Some instructors, perhaps in the realization that the entire field is in a most fluid state, have refused to seize the prickly nettle, and have defined their courses negatively, thereby illustrating the persistence of a tendency pointed out almost twenty years ago by John A. Krout, who somewhat caustically charged that the social historian had been made the custodian of "the 'residuum' left after every other group" had carved out its sphere of influence.<sup>5</sup> This tendency may account for courses which treat "those phases" of American history not usually studied in "political history," or emphasize "the non-political aspects of American history."

In some cases both the title of the course and the descriptive notes are stated in the broadest and most general terms. Social history, for example, may be defined as the study of "the social, economic, cultural and intellectual" history of the United States, or it may purport to treat "cultural and intellectual achievements," education, religion, reform, science, and the fine arts, as well as "social thought and social institutions." In some cases social history is defined as the study of "American culture," social ideas, population, immigration, minority groups, "arts and sciences," education, and "intellectual development." Or it may deal with "daily life," "social trends," or "social ideas," and may even include literature, fine arts, religion, and "the development of the American mind."

While Brinton obviously is correct in his observation that the boundaries of intellectual history are not "clear-cut and simple,"<sup>6</sup> an extreme looseness of definition and disparity of emphasis is indicated by the great variation manifest in course offerings in intellectual history. They may purport to present "a social history of American thought," the "social life and progress" of the nation, or "the emergence of the American people from the mingling of various racial elements" as well as "a study of the chief characteristics of the American mind."

Courses in intellectual history, thus defined, may seem to be almost identical with courses in "cultural history," where the same tendency toward the use of the broadest of terms in descriptive statements is apparent. Cultural history may treat "the economic background" of American society, American ideas "as reflected in the thought of leaders, groups, and the general public," or "the development of typical American institutions."

#### *Purpose or Aim*

This diversity, which at least one professor considers fogginess, is apparent not only in the descriptive annotations in institutional bulletins but also in the procedures actually followed by those who offer courses in this general area. In 1953 approximately 200 individuals then teaching courses in social-intellectual-cultural history (but not those primarily or exclusively engaged in programs in American Studies or American Civilization) were asked to indicate the degree of emphasis which they believed themselves to be giving a number of topics. They were asked also to supply certain statistical information. Replies were received from 156. Additional information was obtained through correspondence, by study of syllabi and course outlines, and by observation, interview, and discussion at fifteen American colleges and universities. Questionnaires were completed by the instructors offering courses in social or intellectual history at most of these institutions. Some instructors, for reasons which they did not state, failed to return the questionnaire; about 2 per cent stated that they did not wish to participate in such a project, either because of their doubt as to its soundness, their objection to the method used, or their objection to the form of the questionnaire. Others did not

complete every item in the questionnaire, in many instances with an explanatory note.

Quite obviously, no statistically accurate analysis of such a subjective question as the degree of emphasis which a number of teachers place on the large body of fact in any field, however well defined and however restricted in nature, can be made. What is one man's meat of major emphasis may well be another's poison of inadequacy; probably no questionnaire could be devised which would include all the factors involved in actual course work in any field. In such a relatively new and undefined field as social or intellectual history the task is extremely difficult. But it is not unreasonable to assume that each instructor understands his own basic pattern, his over-riding concept, and that he is able to report whether he devotes no time to a specific topic, whether the topic is given little attention, or whether it forms a major portion of the material in the course which he is offering. The replies to such a questionnaire therefore represent only what the instructor *thinks* he is doing about the matters presented in the questionnaire, and cannot be construed as evidence for any quantitative comparison of the time actually devoted to specific topics by different teachers. Nor is it possible to give firm definitions of some of the terms used since such widely recognized concepts as "social reform," "religious thought," or "the great ideas," may be given different definitions by different individuals.

The information obtained by the use of such a questionnaire method must, therefore, be used with the greatest of caution, but certain observations may be made and certain conclusions drawn. They are presented in the hope that they may be of some interest to the not inconsiderable body of professional historians now offering college and university courses in the general area of American social-intellectual-cultural history.

1. Whatever the title of the course, almost 50 per cent of those who replied to the questionnaire believe that they are giving more emphasis to intellectual history than to social history or to American civilization, in the broader sense.

2. Whatever the title of the course, there is little unanimity as to content.

3. Almost all the instructors reporting give



some emphasis to the history of religious thought, 2.4 per cent stating that this aspect of intellectual history receives no emphasis in their courses. Indeed, about 60 per cent of the reporting teachers believe that they place extensive or major emphasis on religious thought and on the church as a social institution. History of religion and the history of individual denominations receive comparatively little attention.

4. The study of philosophical trends is strongly emphasized in these courses, but not the study of philosophy in any formal sense; neither formal philosophy nor trends in popular philosophy is given major emphasis by these instructors, these topics receiving extensive treatment in only 20 per cent and 42 per cent respectively.

5. Instructors in the field apparently do not consider the study of the history of science one of their major responsibilities. Approximately one-half of those reporting believe that they give "slight" emphasis to the history of pure science or even of popular ideas about science, only about 25 per cent giving extensive attention to these topics.

6. Both educational theory and practice and the school as a social institution are emphasized in most courses. Only eight teachers reported that they give no emphasis to these subjects, but in only seven cases were they given major emphasis. In 50 per cent of the courses reported, education received extensive study.

7. The history of legal and political thought is given slight emphasis in the courses on which reports were received. About 15 per cent reported that no emphasis was given constitutional law, and 45 per cent reported only slight interest. Political theories and popular political ideas fare somewhat better, however, with 20-25 per cent giving little or slight attention to these topics; about 60 per cent of the instructors report that they devote extensive emphasis to study in these areas.

8. The arts are emphasized in varying degrees. About one-half of those who reported believe that they give only slight emphasis to the history of painting, sculpture, architecture, and decor, these phases of cultural history being treated extensively, in their own opinion, by approximately one-third of those reporting. Music receives even less attention, the report-

ing instructors believe, since 20 per cent allocate no time to the study of the history of music in America, and 50 per cent treat it only slightly. Drama gets no attention from about 20 per cent, slight treatment from about 50 per cent, and extensive emphasis in slightly more than 30 per cent. Music and drama are given major emphasis in less than 5 per cent of the courses on which reports were received.

9. An interesting and perhaps significant situation is revealed by estimates of the degree of emphasis given to certain aspects of social history. The family, as a social institution, is given no emphasis in 25 per cent of the reported courses, and extensive emphasis in only 37 per cent. The community is more thoroughly studied, receiving major emphasis in 25 per cent of the courses, extensive in 47 per cent, and slight in 36 per cent. The historical development of patterns of behavior and social control as seen in the study of folkways and mores received extensive attention in about one-half of the reported courses, and major emphasis in 10 per cent. The most heavily emphasized aspect of social history, however, seems to be that complex of forces and movements somewhat vaguely called "social reform." Only two instructors reported no emphasis on social reform, 6 per cent reported slight emphasis, 75 per cent give extensive emphasis to the history of social reform, and about 30 per cent give it major emphasis in their courses. No other topic included in the questionnaire received such emphasis.

This divergence of aim, goal, and purpose is patent in the syllabi, outlines, lecture lists, and reading lists which are used in the courses, a large number of which have been examined as a part of this study. These outlines and syllabi, as well as correspondence and interviews with many individuals now teaching courses in this general area, tend to corroborate the conclusions which have been drawn from the study of the questionnaire. As one instructor states the problem, for example, those teaching intellectual history should decide whether their chief interest should be "the history of the intellectuals" or the "history of the popular mass-mind," and whether they should study the relationship between the two, if any. Another teacher, an active, articulate, and prolific scholar, well known for his work in the field, feels that

intellectual history "is not a fusion of several disciplines," but a discipline which must utilize its material in a study of large ideas whose effects range through wide aspects of American life, even though the masses may not be aware of the existence of the idea or even of its influence upon their thinking. Social history, he believes, can too easily fall into a melange, a mixture of "what is left" after other phases of history have been defined. Social history, he thinks, should deal with society, broadly defined, with people, their activities, and their institutions. He sees some inter-relationship between literature, the arts, and the prevalent climate of the mind, but, on the whole, is suspicious of this approach, considering it dangerously open to subjectivity.

Another scholar, also very active in publication as well as in teaching, believes that "art, science, religion, etc. are all interrelated and express a definite reaction to the historical forces of the times in general and to regional forces in particular." His purposes, simply stated, are to "acquaint the student with the historical developments of that culture of which he is an integral part; to stimulate wide reading . . . and to aid in the integration of the student's educational experience in the liberal arts." Or, as another instructor phrases his objective, the course attempts to "explain and describe how and why Americans lived." He, too, considers the history of the arts, of science, and of folkways and mores to reflect basic social and intellectual forces. Perhaps the aim of many teachers is tersely stated by the instructor whose aim it is to discover how the American has come to "think and act in the sometimes strange ways he does."

For some instructors, courses in this field have a most pragmatic utility—they teach young Americans to value the American tradition. In one institution, for example, the course in "American Thought" emphasizes the basic tenets of "the Democratic Faith"—belief in the natural and moral law, in the importance of the individual, in the perfectibility of man, and in the destiny of the United States; in another college the course on "the American Idea" attempts a critical examination of the "pattern of ideas and behavior which constitute [*sic*] the American version of the democratic idea," with the view that citizenship in modern America

necessitates an understanding of the "basic ideological conflict," in which the nation is now involved.

This emphasis on the utility of history is apparent in several courses in which the student is encouraged to seek in the past an explanation of the present, looking at history quite frankly as a key to an understanding of present problems. In one such course, the class begins with a study of contemporary America, emphasizing the "feeling of despair" and pessimism which is characteristic of modern America, and proceeds to a study of the origins of this pessimism. This pattern understood, the students seek the origins of that "hope and optimism" which is so characteristically American. Indeed, American democratic faith rests on "ideals of unbounded optimism," the instructor believes. In some instances the past is even presented as a key to the future, as in a course in which the student will observe those currents and trends which will enable him to "speculate intelligently about the future."

In some courses intellectual history or social history is so broadly construed that much material usually treated in courses in political, economic, or even diplomatic history is discussed. In one course in "intellectual history," for example, the lectures and reading assignments include analyses of the American constitution; the Northwest Ordinance; Jefferson, Hamilton, and Marshall; Clay and Webster; imperialism and the Spanish-American war; the political program of the Progressives; the events between Munich and Pearl Harbor; the founding of the United Nations; and the "cold war." Similarly, at another institution, a course in "intellectual history" purports to treat the religious pattern of early American thought; the Age of Reason in America; romantic individualism; the rise of industry; social protest and reform; Darwinism, science and religion; new trends in economics, history, law, and philosophy; theories of nationalism, racism, and imperialism; the social bases of progressivism; the new internationalism; the flaming twenties; the effect of the depression; and an analysis of dominant patterns in contemporary thought!

The fact that these topics may be practically duplicated in courses in social history emphasizes the absence of any clear distinction between the two areas or fields. In one course in

"social history," for example, the major topics are: The colonial inheritance; independence and democratic reform; the Jacksonian era; Civil War and Reconstruction; industrialization, urbanization, and immigration; religion; changes in the family; reform, both urban and rural; racism, imperialism, and nationalism; progressivism; war and reaction; the twenties; the depression and the New Deal; contemporary America. Another includes study of the economic base of American society; foreign and domestic commerce; industry and labor; the social and intellectual aspects of life in antebellum America; education, religion, and reform; recreation; journalism, literature, and science; the ante-bellum South; reconstruction; the rise of the city; reform, religious movements, and education; the Great Crusade and after; depression and war.

#### *Method or Procedure*

In the organization of the course and the methods used in its presentation the same variation is shown. Somewhat more than one-half of the reported courses are offered annually, as one-year courses, but almost as many are offered as semester or quarter courses. In a number of institutions the courses are offered in alternate years; but even here there is considerable variation, since in some institutions year courses in social history and intellectual history are offered alternately. In other institutions, the alternation is chronological, that is, a course in social and intellectual history to 1860 may be offered one year, a course in the history of the period since 1860 being offered in the alternate year. In a very few institutions two, or even three, courses are offered simultaneously, while in some instances the courses are offered only on demand. Usually, although not always, the alternate courses are offered by the same instructor, but in some cases there is a chronological or topical division among two or more men.

No definite pattern has been set in the use of a text, approximately 75 per cent of those reporting having, at one time, used a text. Some instructors have used almost all the texts now published in the field; others have never used a text. When used, a text usually is supplemented by collateral readings, typically selected from one of the many published "readings" or "problems" or, in some instances, presented to the

class in mimeographed form. In estimated total volume of reading per week there is great variation. Not all instructors ventured an estimate, but the estimates which were given ranged from extremes of 40 to 400 pages per week, for undergraduates. Even in one institution, in which similar courses are taught by two men, estimates of the average weekly reading required varied from 50 pages in one course to 200 in the other.

Apparently the lecture method is extensively used, although there is some evidence that discussion and group analysis are encouraged and in a few schools an effort is made to follow the "student centered" approach. Technical aids, such as recordings, slides, moving pictures, or projectors, are not used to a great extent. Not all reporting instructors responded to the inquiry on their use of such technical aids but of those who did less than 50 per cent used such devices, and some of those only to a slight extent. Some instructors consider such aids desirable and plan to use both recordings and film more frequently in the future, but some do not consider such techniques suitable for use in college courses in history.

#### *Conclusion*

Both the social and the intellectual historian must realize that they are newcomers to the field of history, still considered by some of their colleagues to be interlopers. Indeed, it was not many years ago that Frederic L. Paxson sarcastically expressed doubt that one could write history of no history<sup>7</sup> and another historian scathingly damned the entire field of social history as "The offspring of an adding machine and a typewriter, whose grandparents were census tables and statistical abstracts." To be a social historian, asserted this critic, "it is not enough to have a fluent style and a prejudice against society as it is organized."<sup>8</sup> As students in what are undoubtedly the most rapidly growing fields of American historiography, social and intellectual historians need not necessarily accept such severe strictures, but perhaps they should attempt to orient themselves, to come to a better understanding of content, to some definition of basic terms.

Conformity to any pattern or uniformity in content and method would be both dangerous and contrary to the freedom which must characterize intellectual activity. There should be



no attempt to establish rigid lines of demarcation, limitations on the free play of the intellect. Free discussion of terms, concepts, areas, and purposes should, however, result in a better understanding of the general purposes or goals of social history and of intellectual history and should to some extent clarify the confusion which apparently exists among specialists in the field.

Definitions of history are almost as numerous as historians. History has been defined as all that has happened to man; as the memory of what he has said, thought, and done; and as a tool by which men shape the thinking of each generation, molding it toward an end which they consider desirable. Some years ago Arthur M. Schlesinger, in defining social history, asserted that it is "the history of society." The task of the social historian, thus defined, is to "depict the human past at a given period in its totality, with the various forces and factors duly interrelated and appraised."<sup>9</sup> But are not all historians concerned with the "totality" of the human past, with, in Schlesinger's words, all that complex of human activity which comprises "the round of living"? Can the social historian assume responsibility for such a study of the totality of human experience? It would seem that he will assume a task of sufficient magnitude if he confines himself to the study of human society in a somewhat more restricted sense. He need not necessarily accept the limitation suggested by Crane Brinton, who, in a recent brilliant definition of intellectual history, said that the social historian attempts to find out "how men and women of all classes actually lived,"<sup>10</sup> for, as he doubtless would agree, the social historian also is concerned with the study of the patterns through and in which men live, with what the sociologist calls "institutions" and "culture patterns." The social historian is interested, too, in the elaborate complex of tradition, custom, folkways, mores, and value systems, which has developed in any society at any given time, as well as in the machinery which has developed to perpetuate and safeguard those institutions, the forces which attempt to change them, and the resultant conflicts. Should the social historian confine himself to the study of people, their customs and practices, their institutions, both formal and informal, the machinery for their perpetuation, and the processes of

social change? He may look at society by utilizing the concepts of the anthropologist, the sociologist, and the demographer, but he must not lose sight of the principal object of his study—an understanding of the people whom he is studying and the societal order or institutional pattern which they have developed, as well as the behavioral patterns which characterize that society.

The intellectual historian might limit his study to the thought of that vaguely defined group, the intellectuals. Preserved Smith, in his survey of Western culture, insists that the intellectual historian must do so, that he should study that group which sets the tone of a period or of a people. The intellectual atmosphere of any period, says Smith, is "the world-view held by the dominant classes."<sup>11</sup> When writing of the spirit which characterizes any period, the intellectual climate by which it is distinguished, the historian must study the attitudes and patterns of thought of "that particular group" which has "contributed most of permanent value to the wisdom and beauty of the world" rather than "the spirit of the masses." Smith's intellectual historian examines "the creations of the choicer minds," ignoring the "inert opinions of the masses."<sup>12</sup> Approximately the same distinction is made by Perry Miller, who laments the fact that "a vast variety of historians" are attempting to "chronicle the life of the mind without distinguishing between the mind and the market place." While he considers the "so-called ideas" of such men as Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Andrew Carnegie important for the historian of political and economic events, his intellectual historian apparently would confine himself to study of the "speculations" of the "serious and competent" thinkers of the period under study.<sup>13</sup>

This position, which undoubtedly reflects the views of a number of historians, contrasts vividly with the views expressed with such eloquence by Crane Brinton, who argues that the history of the intellectuals, while worth writing, is not the whole of intellectual history.<sup>14</sup> Brinton's intellectual historian is interested in all ideas, "wild" as well as "sensible," in the infinite variety of ideas expressed by the infinite variety of men. His task is to examine the relations between the ideas of the intellectual, the philosopher, and the life of the

masses. He is deeply interested in the "spirit of the masses," in their "common prejudices," their world-view, their attitude toward what Brinton calls "the Big Questions"—problems of telos, of ethics, of morality, of esthetics, of "what we *really* mean by good and bad, by beautiful and ugly."<sup>15</sup> This view is shared by Franklin L. Baumer, who asserts that the intellectual historian is concerned with the discovery and examination of the climate of opinion, the world-view, a task which he cannot accomplish by studying the works of the intellectuals. He must study not only the philosophers, scholars, and scientists, but the views and attitudes of the popularizers and of the "intelligent reading public."<sup>16</sup> He must not be content to read the great books, but must familiarize himself with the thought expressed in speeches, sermons, novels, essays, correspondence; he must attempt to fathom the processes by which ideas are transmitted from individual to individual and from stratum to stratum in society. Baumer's intellectual historian will study "the casual nexus between ideas and political and social events," will examine "the process and dynamics of intellectual change."<sup>17</sup> The intellectual historian, Baumer asserts, studies the relationship of ideas to each other and to concrete historical situations and events, leaving to the philosopher the evaluation of these ideas in "the ultimate scheme of things."<sup>18</sup> Brinton considers the social historian who studies the ideas prevalent among the masses to be, in a sense, an intellectual historian; indeed, much of the material with which the intellectual historian works has been drawn together by the social historian. Neither men nor ideas live in a vacuum. The task of the social historian is to describe the milieu in which a specific group of men lived in a specific time; that of the intellectual historian to examine the patterns of thought of that cultural unit.

In so doing the intellectual historian studies literature, not as a critic of form and style, but as it illuminates the thought of the author and of the reader. He studies music, painting, architecture, and sculpture, not primarily as a humanistic experience, nor as an expression of his own emotion or artistic skill, but in an effort to discern in the art of a particular period the attitudes and values of a particular people, to understand them by observing those things

which they really meant by "good and bad, by beautiful and ugly."<sup>19</sup> He studies philosophy, science, religion, not as a philosopher seeking an answer to the elemental, basic, final questions of Life and Cosmos, but as a historian attempting to observe, comprehend, and portray the beliefs and concepts which in large measure control the lives of the people whose history he is studying; not as a scientist seeking the formula of the future, but as an observer studying the cultural base upon which the future, as the present, rests, examining the soil in which new and ever more complex scientific hypotheses and facts are germinated; not as an ecclesiastic or a theologian, seeking the perfect way and leading his brethren in that path, but as a scholar, recording the laborious steps by which men have sought to solve the riddle of their relationship with the Unknowable.

The intimate relationship of social and intellectual history is clearly apparent and seems to be understood by many of those now working in the field. Indeed, it seems probable that some of the confusion which is now so apparent among us flows from a recognition of the inter-relationship of social, intellectual, artistic, economic, and political aspects of human existence and human history. The historian who undertakes research in any field of history must realize the intricacy of the web of human activity. No thread stands alone in isolation; all are associated, all form a part of the warp and woof of life. The historian who is interested in the daily lives of the people, their expression of their needs and desires and their efforts at realization, conveniently may call himself a social historian. The historian who studies the ideas, the attitudes, the over-riding principles, the basic concepts which are characteristic of a people and which help to make one cultural group distinct and recognizable may call himself an intellectual historian. In the words of John Higham, the intellectual historian studies the "relatively enduring organizations of thought and emotion (knowledge, opinion, faith, attitudes) as they develop and operate within particular historical contexts." He proceeds on the assumption that basic patterns of association do in fact exist, that they may be observed and identified, and that one legitimate task of the historian is the search for the "connections between bodies of thought and related areas of

intellectual or social experience. . . ."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas C. Cochran, "A Decade of American Histories," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXIII (1949), 152.

<sup>2</sup> "An Editor's Second Thoughts," in *Approaches to American Social History*, ed. by William E. Lingelbach (New York, 1937), 84.

<sup>3</sup> Crane Brinton, *Ideas and Men* (New York, 1950), 9.

<sup>4</sup> Charles A. Barker, "Needs and Opportunities in American Social and Intellectual History," *Pacific Historical Review*, XX (1951), 1-9; John Higham, "The Rise of American Intellectual History," *American Historical Review*, LVI (1950-51), 453-71.

<sup>5</sup> John A. Krout, "Reflections of a Social Historian," in Lingelbach, *Approaches to American Social History*, 61.

<sup>6</sup> Brinton, *Ideas and Men*, 7.

<sup>7</sup> Frederic L. Paxson, in rev. of Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America*, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIV (1927-28), 571-72.

<sup>8</sup> Wilbur C. Abbott, *Adventures in Reputation*, with

an *Essay on Some "New" History and Historians* (Cambridge, 1935), 229, 230.

<sup>9</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, "What American Social History Is," *Harvard Educational Review*, VII (1937), 60.

<sup>10</sup> Brinton, *Ideas and Men*, 9.

<sup>11</sup> Smith, *A History of Modern Culture* (New York, 1930-34), II, 20.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>13</sup> Miller, *American Thought, Civil War to World War I* (New York, 1954), vii.

<sup>14</sup> Brinton, *Ideas and Men*, 7.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>16</sup> Franklin L. Baumer, "Intellectual History and its Problems," *Journal of Modern History*, XXI (1949), 192.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 201, 195.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

<sup>19</sup> Brinton, *Ideas and Men*, 3.

<sup>20</sup> John Higham, "The Rise of American Intellectual History," *American Historical Review*, LVI (1950-51), 453.

## 2000 Freshmen

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Some time ago, after twenty years of high school teaching, mostly of pupils of the sophomore-junior level, I became a teacher of college freshmen. Since the course in general history which I am now teaching is, to a large degree, the counterpart of the high school world history which had become my specialty, I have found it interesting and instructive to make comparisons of the college students with whom I am now working and the high school students whom I formerly taught. In doing this, I have tried to appraise the intellectual and social growth that occurs between the ages of fifteen, say, and seventeen or eighteen; to observe the changing points of view which accompany this maturation; to estimate the respective capacities and intellectual promise of the two groups; and to consider how my responsibilities as a teacher and how all the problems of content and method are, or should be, conditioned by the changes and development which I believe that I perceive.

Perhaps my first observation has been that the fundamental processes and problems of teaching are much the same at both levels, and, doubtless, at all levels. Communication, motivation, individualization of approach—these are continuing problems that are presented wher-

ever and whomever one is teaching. It is probably true that the increased maturity of the college students, combined with whatever selective factors are involved in college attendance, relieves their teacher of certain kinds of discipline problems experienced by the high school teacher. And it may be true also that the college teacher does not feel, to same degree as does the high school or elementary teacher, the necessity of producing results in terms of student achievement—it being generally assumed that a certain number of college students, especially freshmen, are not going to measure up to required standards and will, in the end, be dropped. But it should be said that even though this somewhat dangerous hypothesis be accepted, the conscientious college teacher will do all that is within his power to make the freshman year a successful one for his students. I am glad to report that the number of college teachers who have less constructive attitudes in the matter of responsibility to their students is small and diminishing.

I have decided to title these comments "2000 Freshmen." Since the academic year 1946-47 I have taught about that many of them. They have come, for the most part, from the public



high schools of Illinois. Most of them have registered in curricula in Liberal Arts and Sciences, and have looked forward to receiving baccalaureate degrees. By the present time many of them have attained this goal — *magna cum laude*, *cum laude*, or *mirabile dictu*, as President Faunce of Brown used to say.

There is, unfortunately, a large number of academic failures among our freshmen, a larger number of first semester probations, and a still larger number of dangerously near-misses. Indeed, for a substantial proportion of any freshman class the first year of college constitutes a genuine struggle for existence—a test so severe that many are unable to meet it. I should like to indicate what I believe to be some of the common sources of difficulty, in so far as these are related to previous academic experience and are, to some degree, remediable.

Doing successful work in a college course in history is dependent upon rather obvious qualities, skills, and habits: normal intelligence; reasonably high abilities in reading, writing, and speaking; the ability and habit of listening with comprehension to what is said in the classroom; and the capacity and willingness to do sustained mental work. I am convinced that very few failures may be attributed wholly, or even largely, to inadequate intelligence. It is true, of course, that the lower IQ students must work harder than their more gifted classmates find it necessary to do. But I have known a good many of them who have cheerfully done just that, with the result that they have amply satisfied requirements. In a number of instances I have observed really dramatic achievements on the part of students not considered by some of my colleagues to be of college quality. I remember vividly a conversation with a student who had just completed requirements for a master's degree. He said, "They told me that I couldn't do this." Such experience emphasize the hazards of an overly deterministic policy in the selection and rejection of college students. As for myself, I have come to believe that high school graduates are entitled to at least one year of college, in which to succeed or fail.

Sharp wits are desirable; dulness is a handicap. But it is usually more controllable factors that determine success or failure in freshman history. Frequently it is a matter of reading and writing—particularly the latter, for it is

my observation that most freshmen read better than they write. Also, I believe, they speak better than they write. I do not know what the predominant point of view of teachers of English is in this matter, though I can understand how it might be argued that comprehension in reading and facility in speech are more important, for the average person, than effectiveness in writing. But for the college student ability to write is an absolute requirement for successful work. I must say that a great deal of criticism is heard these days, not only in academic circles but in business and professional circles as well, of the poor spelling and writing of our high school graduates—a condition which is being ascribed to inadequate or, as some allege, misguided instruction in high school English. As a former high school teacher, I believe that I understand this problem better than some of my associates do. In fact, I have on various occasions pointed out the difficulties that beset the teacher of English in the secondary schools. Yet I am forced to agree with the critics: many of the graduating seniors, our entering freshmen, can not write or spell. I believe that we teachers of history and the social studies, as well as teachers of English, can do something about this. I believe that it is our duty to do something.

In teaching history, for example, is it not entirely proper for us to insist on our students' learning the correct spelling of a reasonable number of key words? I do not mean the most difficult words, but the simple everyday words such as cities (citys is very common among our freshmen), Britain, parliament, emperor, and the like. I see no reason why the mastery of the spelling of such words should not be a requirement in our courses in history and the social studies. I believe that it would be a good idea to compile a master list of spelling words. I know from experience what words and expressions should be on such a list, and I have learned that the spellings can be mastered by the students if I exert sufficient pressure.

We should require more writing of various kinds — not, I believe, of long, involved papers, but of short ones: summaries, expositions, and outlines. In the matter of examinations, more experience in the handling of discussion questions is badly needed. Some of my students assure me that they have never taken an examina-

tion that was not of the short-answer variety. Of course these students do very poorly on the discussion questions on which they are now required to write. I frequently tell my students that they don't do themselves justice on their examinations, meaning that they do not utilize to the fullest extent what they actually know. I have learned this when, in reviewing examination papers with individual students, their comments indicated a knowledge of the subject far beyond what their papers evinced. Their failure was really not one of content, but of method. This, it seems to me, is another evidence of what I consider to be one of the most fundamental weaknesses in most teaching of history and the social studies. I am quite sure that we teachers of these subjects seriously minimize the problems of method, of which the students themselves may be only dimly aware but which are really the basis of many of their difficulties. The writing of an examination, for example, presents problems of technique that are quite well defined. But most of us say little about this, and are much inclined to leave our students to their own devices to discover what the techniques are and how to employ them. For the majority of them this do-nothing policy does not work well.

Note-taking is another form of writing in which many of our freshmen have had little or no training. This fact may be partly explained by the limited use that is made of the lecture method in the high schools. Though I am by no means persuaded that the lecture method is the best of all possible methods, or that our large lecture sections constitute an ideal classroom environment, the fact remains that these are some of actualities by which the freshmen student is confronted, and he must adjust himself to them. Attentive listening and careful note-taking are part of the system. As instructor, I consider it my responsibility to help the students acquire the needed abilities. But what I can do in this direction is, for many of my students, all too little. For a few students, on the other hand, it seems unnecessary, since it is evident from the surprisingly excellent class notes taken by them that they have already received effective instruction in the techniques of note-taking. My observation of the work of this minority group leads me to believe that it is practicable for other schools and other

teachers to do more than they are now doing to prepare their students for the classroom methods to which so many find it difficult to accommodate themselves. I feel the more warranted in calling attention to this matter since I am convinced that clarity and succinctness in the taking of notes and accuracy of comprehension go hand in hand. I believe that I have never known a really good note-taker who was not an excellent student in history. Undoubtedly, intelligence plays an important part in the acquisition of this or any writing skill; but, on the other hand, the effective use of the skill sharpens comprehension and points up interpretations and judgments as the process of attending and writing goes on.

As for talking (in this context perhaps a better word than speaking), I believe that its virtues have been exaggerated. Many of my students "love to discuss." Very good. But not a few of these same students are less eager to undergo the rigors of thorough investigation which should precede the delights of expression. In many classes in the social studies, much is made of discussion, opinion-forming, and problem-solving. I suspect that a good deal of this is spurious. Discipline is an old-fashioned word—a rather harsh word. But the discipline of hard work, of earnest truth-seeking, of mental self-control is badly needed in American education. And certainly it has its rewards in the mastered task, in knowledge revealed, in the earned *right* to speak. So far as our freshmen are concerned, those who really succeed have learned, at least to a modest degree, the lessons of self-discipline.

I know that what I have said represents nothing new or original. I know also that my observations are subject to the rejoinder that the high schools have other jobs to do than those of preparing students for college. I understand all this. But I feel justified in suggesting that an increased concern for those who *are* going to college is desirable and can, I believe, be implemented in ways that need not in any respect prejudice the interests of the more numerous and no less important non-college group. Actually, have we not been guilty of creating a false dichotomy here?

I should like to conclude these remarks with a word of commendation for my students and, inferentially, for their former teachers. I have

never known a more admirable group of young people than those who are now entering my classes. They are interested, courteous, friendly and, in spite of appearances, very idealistic. They really want to make this a better world!

Because I want them to have the best possible opportunity to attain this worthy, perhaps I should say *necessary*, goal, I address these words to those with whom I am glad to share a common task.

## "To Bigotry No Sanction"

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The implications of the letter written by George Washington containing the words "... the Government of the United States which gives to bigotry no sanction . . ." are quite obvious to us now. During the week when observances are held in celebration of Brotherhood, commemorating the birth of George Washington, we emphasize it more than the rest of the year. That is wrong for it should be stressed daily throughout the year. This can be accomplished through continuous education.

We all know that the melting pot in America does not work with one hundred per cent perfection. We know that we have problems occasioned by bigotry among racial, nationalistic, and religious groups. The problem is: What are we to do about it? What can education—the schools—do?

They cannot of course, do everything. They can I think, do something. They can teach certain principles of elemental justice and American democracy, principles which, if generally applied, would help ease the intergroup strains and would help to promote harmony and unity in this nation. Without pretending to touch all aspects of the problem of bigotry and intergroup harmony, I should like to suggest the following minimum educational program:

*First*—Every American whether he is white or colored, Jew or Gentile, Catholic, Protestant, or unaffiliated, has a right to a position. He should not be pursued by discrimination as he goes out to seek a job. When he is being considered for employment or promotion he should be considered on his personal merits. He should have opportunity to find employment in keeping with his aptitudes and training.

The schools can teach it. They cannot go into detail in prescribing how the ideal is to be realized, but they can teach the fact that an America which does not somehow give to all its citizens economic opportunity in keeping with their abilities is failing to be the America of our dreams and boasts. So long as there are individuals in this land who, when they seek jobs, find themselves turned away, not because of demerit but because of race, color, or creed—so long as that condition prevails—all true Americans should be determined in their effort to correct this national shortcoming.

*Second*—All Americans of whatever race, color, or creed have a right to an education. Insofar as it is true that some Americans have a better chance for an education than others, not only because of personal ability or ambition, but because of race or nationality, our society is to that extent aristocratic instead of democratic; it is to that extent unjust rather than just.

*Third*—Every American should be recognized as having political rights equal to those of any other American. Each American should share in the civil liberties which are among our proudest boasts. There are, of course, certain limitations to free speech in America, but we should see to it that these limitations are imposed to guard the welfare of the nation and of the individuals within it. They should be so imposed as not to discriminate against minorities merely because these minorities are unpopular with the majority.

*Fourth*—Every American should get justice on equal terms. If these four rights are granted equally to all, the group strains in America,



though not completely erased, will be considerably relaxed. If, for example, every Negro and every Jew in the nation should find that his color or his religion was no longer a handicap to him when he goes out to get a job, much of the sense of injustice which mars the harmony of American life would be removed, much of the unhappiness and frustrations felt by millions of Americans would vanish. Practices which run counter to the American ideal of justice and equality of opportunity would be checked. There would be more harmony and unity in American life. The nation would obtain tremendous assets in utilizing the best abilities of all its citizens. The nation would not only be strengthened in its local affairs but gain too in its international relations.

If these elemental rights on the other hand are withheld from numbers of our people, the tensions and strains will grow into serious conflicts. Our nation may be fundamentally weakened, and eventually and inevitably the disunity between idealism and practicality will bring about that "schism of the soul" which, according to the historian Arnold Toynbee, inexorably indicates the fall of civilizations.

You ask how much good it will do to teach these principles in the schools, and how it will affect bigotry. I think it will do a lot to counter the evil forces that bigotry insidiously brings into society.

Certainly, students will not be led to swerve from our moral concepts. All students can understand these fair practices of dealing with one another. We must have faith that our young

people who are taught ideals of good conduct and fair play will heed these teachings in their daily lives. Most of them do. Some of the teachings which a child receives at its mother's knee will stick through life. Some of the teachings of the church and synagogue will endure. Some of the teachings of the school will also endure. If we did not believe these things, we would not have enough faith to promote better harmony among individuals or in our society.

The educator, too, must have faith. He must believe that some of the seed which he sows will fall on fertile soil. He must believe that democracy will be revitalized if the principles upon which it is founded are proclaimed and learned.

There is a great deal of current discussion of the need for "understanding" among nations and groups of the role that bigotry plays. Understanding is a condition precedent to wise social action. However, it is not enough merely to understand bigotry and group conflicts. The causes of bigotry must be removed. The schools, can, I think perform a service by bringing out in the open for study certain causes of bigotry. They may inquire concerning steps which should be taken to the end that all our people, of whatever race, color, or creed, may enjoy fully those economic and political rights and privileges which are supposed to be the heritage of all Americans.

Only this way will these words of Washington be fulfilled, "Let all differences subside—. Let all be as a Band of Brothers and rise superior to every injury whether real or imaginary."

## A New Approach to Teaching History?

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Learning golf and studying history have one thing in common: they are both done best in reverse. Most authorities in the field of golf agree that the best way to become proficient in the game is to learn to use the clubs in the exact reverse order that you normally use them on the course. It is my belief that such an approach to history would also be effective.

It might seem logical to assume that in learning to play golf one would first master the woods, since they are the clubs used first in a game. After learning to use the woods would come the long irons, then the medium irons, short irons, and finally one would learn to use the putter on the green. This has been called the logical approach to golf; learning to use the

clubs as they are employed logically in a playing situation.

However, most experts think that a psychological approach is better: one in which you learn to use the clubs in the order of their difficulty. Starting with the shortest club first, the putter, one proceeds from there to the longer clubs. In this way he learns to master the easier clubs first, and then the longer, more difficult ones later. Sequence of learning material is actually unrelated to the game, anyway.

History, as it is generally taught, follows a pattern similar to the logical approach to golf mentioned above. The material is usually approached in the order that it occurred in the course of human events. However, I feel that in studying history an approach similar to the psychological approach in golf has merit. For example, I believe that it would be more proper and more effective to study history by starting with present problems and proceeding to earlier events. Psychologists point out that in learning situations it is effective to proceed from the known to the unknown, and in the field of history what is more known than those events which are occurring in the world today; those things which we read about in the paper, see on television, or hear about on the radio? These events, which are news today, will be history tomorrow. Why not start with these known current problems and proceed to the unknown past?

Each event of today has a cause which occurred yesterday. It would seem that if we study the events of today we will naturally be impelled to study their causes, which happened yesterday. These causes, in turn, are actually the results of still earlier causes. Thus it will be natural to follow the train of history backwards to beginnings.

To portray this figuratively, we might compare it to a situation in which we think of history as an ever growing pile of sand. As with the hour glass, the most recent events would be near the top of the pile, and the body of the cone would be contributing causes. Of course to build such a pile of sand one must start at the bottom, but to study it the approach can be readily reversed for greater effect.

Teachers usually relate history to present day circumstances, but why should they create such artificiality when it is so natural and ef-

fective to relate present circumstances to history? In the usual approach teachers resort to reversal, anyway. For example, in discussing the settlement of early America it becomes apparent that there were reasons for the colonists' travel to this continent. Why did they come here? Why did they leave there? Starting with the fact that they came, one must continuously revert back to the causes, and so the study becomes a see-saw process back and forth, though eventually moving forward.

Another example might be a study of the first World War. An approach to this topic would necessitate a study of those events which preceded and caused this calamity. The growing spirit of nationalism, political unrest, entangling alliances, and ineffective leadership all contributed to the precipitation of this conflict. But then, what caused these situations? What factors helped determine such patriotic fervor, political alliances and incapable leaders as existed at that time? Since it is necessary to go back and study causes anyway, why not follow that pattern all the time?

For instance, the Defense of Western Europe is a problem currently before the world. To start a study of such a topic would lead naturally into related, but earlier, problems. Such things as Communism, German Rearmament, World War II, Saar Valley Dispute, Fascism and others.

Continuing this example, to study any one of the above causes would be to unfold new areas of historical interest and endeavor. Take the one about Communism, for instance. Certainly the threat of Communistic expansion is the principal reason for current alarm and demand for European defense. But what is Communism? Who developed the idea? What were the contributing conditions for such an ideology? How was it effected throughout the world in such a relatively short span of time? Seeking answers to such questions takes the learner back a long and fruitful path in the recorded events of man. Truly, there is no limit to such an approach.

To elaborate further, take the problem of German rearmament. This problem currently has the peoples of the world greatly concerned. The free world is striving to build its defenses against Communism, but the remembering French hesitate to arm an ally who was so re-

cently a foe. What do they remember? World War II, the fall of France, puppet government, German occupation, millions dead and more millions prisoner. And still further back they recall the battles of Marne and Ypres and Verdun. Yes, they were on the winning side, but the loss was beyond comprehension. And so the study of man's life on earth continues meaningfully and naturally in the reverse order from which it took place.

But there would be problems to such a scheme, too. Such a procedure would uncover ever-broadening horizons of interest and problems, and require skilled and scholarly teachers. However, history is not a narrow, unrelated field, but rather a tremendously broad and all-encompassing area, and to be meaningful we must approach it in that light. Since schools are geared to time schedules this would cramp their style somewhat, but the problem is far from insurmountable. Certainly it would require careful thought and wise selection on the part of teachers and students, but experience in judgment and choice are essential to skill in such fundamentals of democracy, so history classes can also provide this definite and meaningful approach to citizenship.

Also, history books have generally been

written chronologically, so that would require adaptation, at least for the present. Good teachers do not permit themselves to be harassed to the dictates of a printed page anyway, so this would be of minor significance. On the brighter side, there would actually be a whole new field open to those who develop texts for history classes, so in addition to being challenging, it might also prove productive.

To gain acceptance such an approach to the study of history would have to be subjected to the rigors of research. Consideration and experimentation would be essential in order to accumulate sufficient data to accept or reject such a method. Comparison of such things as student interest and participation, evaluative techniques, activities, materials and other things would be imperative. Such analysis would indicate the true worth of any approach.

Certainly it behooves all who are associated with the task of transmitting cultural heritage to young people to give this approach consideration. Any procedure which will help young people learn about and appreciate man's efforts here on earth more effectively and more enjoyably will be worth the effort. Perhaps it is time to try an entirely new road instead of repairing our well-worn path again.

## Political Terminologies Revised

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The terms "Left," "Right," and "Center" are a cause of confusion in political thinking.

When dealing simply with the original formulation of extremist conceptions, such words have some meaning. The Communist extreme is founded upon a body of doctrine allegedly designed to solve economic and social problems of workingmen. The Fascist extreme is reputed to support, among other things, the interests of privileged economic groups. The "Center" is presumed to stand between the two.

Specifically, the terms arose out of parliamentary seating arrangements which were in-

tended to reflect supposed orientations of various political parties. Thus, a conception of wide ideological difference became fixed in the public mind because of a mechanical problem of finding seats for lawmakers.

The fact has become increasingly apparent, of course, that the actual similarities in practice between the "Left" and the "Right" are more significant than their philosophical differences. Respect for the individual as a unit of worth, together with the rule of law, are destroyed under either arrangement. The two types of political systems both utilize secret



and unpredictable police, terror, purges, irresponsible exercise of authority, lies, character assassination, and foreign adventurism as devices of power. In innumerable instances, adherents of one type of extremism find it more to their nature to switch to the other type than to adopt democratic philosophies.

Finally, the difficulty of speaking of a "Center" between two doctrines, which in practice are essentially the same, presents a further obstacle to clear thinking. It is now well understood by most social scientists that maximized concentration of power sets up similar social patterns under whatever philosophy, and that there can be no half-way point between similar community structures. There should therefore be no need to belabor the obvious here.

It is not to be denied that if we are simply interested in the philosophical and social origins of these two principal contemporary branches of the totalitarian tree, a designation such as "Left" or "Right" does accord with the facts. Hence such terms may be retained within the limits of philosophical exposition.

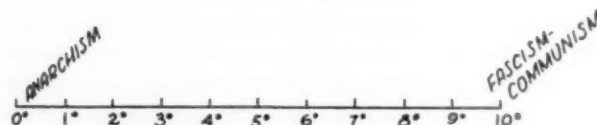
Philosophical origins, however, may have little to do with political realities. It is incumbent upon the social scientist that he utilize terminologies consonant with theoretical framework when he is dealing with that subject. But, in many instances, a political spectrum which correctly describes a theoretical or social background, may not serve at all to express the actual workings in practice of certain political movements.

For analysis of varying degrees of State power, implicit in different political conceptions, we need another sort of measuring device. We might call this the "power spectrum." A new terminological structure of this sort takes on a special significance when we recognize that it is precisely the matter of power distribution that has so much to do with the preservation or destruction of individual liberty. Liberty—and security as well—are most strongly maintained where economic, political, social, and other instrumentalities of power are widely possessed by maximum numbers of individuals. Liberty and personal security may, by simple observation of the nations of the world, be shown to be under the heaviest cloud where the tools of power, in the forms of

property, politics, and propaganda, are most highly concentrated in the fewest hands.

For the construction of our descriptive power spectrum, it is necessary that the terms "Left," "Right," and "Center" be abandoned; and that terminologies be available which are capable of conveying, in terms of concentration of power, not only the similarities between the so-called "extremes," but also the shades of difference in the respective roles of State and individual among the other political groupings.

If, therefore, political conceptions are to be arranged according to degrees of extension of State power, as advocated by the various ideologies, we might begin with a diagram like this:



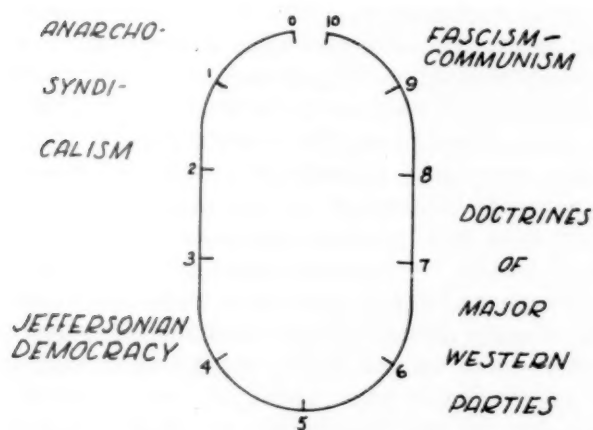
Under such an arrangement, philosophies which would maximize the concentration of power in the hands of the State—for whatever ultimate purpose—might be called doctrines of the tenth degree. This would place Communism, Fascism, Falangism, and several Latin American and other dictatorships in the same category. It would, incidentally, provide a convenient place for those extremists in the United States who seem inclined to place a low value on individual rights and rule of law. Various shades of anarchism and syndicalism, which would either eliminate or radically reduce State functions and glorify individual self-determination, might stand between zero and the second degree. Many modern major parties of the West could be said to propagate doctrines between the sixth and the eighth degree. Old-time Jeffersonian democracy, with its emphasis on individual rights and its distrust of State power, might stand at about the fourth degree, and so on.

For ordinary purposes of simple description, such a straightline diagram should be sufficient. However, full evaluation requires something more. True enough, doctrines at the anarchist end would eliminate or radically reduce government functions. However, it is well understood by social scientists that lacking such reasonable fiscal or regulatory safeguards as government may impose, individuals may fall easy prey to

private abuses of power which are as destructive to liberty and security as are those attributed to the monolithic State. Unless means are available to prevent abusive private monopoly of the instruments of power, the individual may fall under a tyranny which differs only in name from that associated with the authoritarian State.

Anarchy thus becomes a twin-brother of tyranny by the State; and liberty must hang on a delicate balance between private and governmental abuses of power. There must be action by the State, which will guarantee equal liberty by curbing basic monopolies and criminal behavior. But extensions of State power beyond the requirements of equal liberty and opportunity can themselves inaugurate the reign of tyranny.

If we are to evaluate as well as to describe, therefore, some modification of our proposed political power spectrum is thus in order: a modification which will put political authoritarianisms at one end; will express the position of the fragile balance point of liberty and security between anarchy and political totalitarianism; and will, at the same time, place anarchy close to governmental tyranny, with balanced liberty at the opposite extreme from both.



This symbolic gymnastic can be managed by forming our spectrum into an oval-shaped curve:

A circle would not do. For example, the agents of concentrated power under doctrines of the second and eighth degrees may differ, but the results for the individual are not to be sharply distinguished. Or, for that matter, the

more mild invasions of liberty and security which respond to moderate extensions of private concentrations encouraged by doctrines of the fourth degree, or of public concentrations advocated by those of the sixth, may have differences of small significance to the individual person. Certainly the delicate balance of the fifth degree stands as the ultimate extreme from the utter lack of balance at either the tenth or zero degrees.

The writer conceives of the fifth degree as being that point where an irreducible minimum of State action is so arranged as to be of maximum effectiveness in preventing either private or public denial of equal liberty and security. No attempt can or should be made here to indicate just which political doctrines should be put at the fifth degree. This is a matter for personal evaluation by each social scientist. It is incumbent upon each social scientist, however, to clearly recognize that the mid-point of liberty lies not in some imaginary never-never land between two almost identical doctrines, but rather between the ideologies which would gather all power into the hands of the State and those which would abolish it.

Scholars have from time to time presented diagrams to aid them in exposition of the similar effects which emerge from all concentrations of power.<sup>1</sup> For most social scientists, further illustrative clarification on this point is not necessary. What is now needed is a system of diagramming which shall be basic to the more pressing problem of creating descriptive, readily understood, and easily popularized nomenclature.

It is suggested here that for theoretical explanation of doctrinal origins, the traditional Left-Right nomenclature be retained. But to convey to students and to the public the realities of modern political doctrines in practice, social scientists need an additional system of symbols, which will induce clarity rather than foggy thought.

If used in moderation, without absolute placement of any but the most extreme doctrines, the arrangement here presented is recommended as a tentative step in this new direction.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Gerard De Gré, "Freedom and Social Structure," in *Sociological Analysis*, by Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb (N. Y.: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1949), pp. 521 ff.

# The Soviet Iron and Steel Industry

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Told in plain figures, the story of the Soviet Iron and Steel Industry is one of spectacular success. Pig-iron production increased from 3.3 million metric tons in 1928<sup>1</sup> to 27.3 in 1953.<sup>2</sup> Production of steel jumped from 4.3 million metric tons in 1928<sup>3</sup> to 38.0 in 1953.<sup>4</sup>

The 1953 Soviet iron and steel output is greater than that of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Sweden taken together. This record is impressive, when it is remembered that the increase was achieved in twenty-five years. However, this great achievement was accomplished at a great cost, *i.e.*, other segments of the economy—agriculture and consumer goods industries—did not receive equal treatment. The standard of living declined because the government gave up bread for iron and built modern industrial plants in the Urals and in other sections of the Union, cognizant of the fact that modern military power rests on an all-round industrial basis of which iron and steel are the key factors. In other words, it associated world power and influence with iron and steel production.

## *Expansion Progress*

Drastic changes in the organization of the economy were introduced by the Communist leaders. The new concept of a planned society was to serve as the base upon which to build the heavy industry of the country. The pig-iron and steel industry was a government enterprise and its growth was largely determined by the All-Union Planning Committee. The goals to be achieved by the industry were proclaimed by the different Five-Year Plans.

The industrial expansion of the country began with the First Five-Year Plan (1928-1932). Many of the old factories were enlarged and, to a great extent modernized, *e.g.*, the Makeyevka, Stalino, and Dnepro-Dzerzhinsk mills in Ukraine. In addition new plants were

erected at Mariupol, Krivoi-Rog and Zaporozhe. However, the heavy allocation of investment capital in the Donbas industrial region started to decline after 1932, and as a result more capital was poured into the development of the iron and steel industry of Siberia. There are many reasons to explain the eastward shift of capital investment in heavy industry, but the most important one was the desire of the government to make the country's industries less vulnerable to an enemy attack. Plants were erected at Magnitogorsk and Stalinsk. Most of the iron and steel factories were built with technical assistance from America and Germany and many of the plants were patterned after American installations.

Despite the obstacles that had to be overcome—lack of machinery, incomplete construction, scarcity of skilled workers and metallurgical technicians—returns from these vast and costly investments were surprising. The annual production of pig-iron increased from 3.3 million metric tons in 1928 to 15.0 in 1940; of steel, from 4.3 million metric tons to 18.3.<sup>5</sup>

The successful attempt of the Soviet Union to raise the production of iron and steel in the short span of 12 years is due to several factors. First, the Russians, being latecomers, were able to borrow industrial techniques and ideas from the already industrialized nations. This permitted them to invest the capital that would ordinarily have been spent on metallurgical research in the production of steel making equipment, thus increasing the productivity of the industry. Secondly, technical assistance was received from foreign technicians who were unable to find jobs in their own countries because of the depression. Thirdly, the apparent willingness of the Soviet people to forego their present material needs for the benefit of future generations and also their desire to



improve their per-capita output by learning new methods of production. Fourth, the government's policy of ruthless elimination of opposition removed from the scene individuals and groups who were not very enthusiastic about the Five-Year Plans, enabling the government to carry out its objectives without much interference.

#### *Impact of War*

The concentration of iron and steel production in the South (Donbas) proved to be one of the major weaknesses of the Soviet economy when the German army invaded the country in 1941. The production of the important iron and steel centers—Krivoi-rog, Zaporozhye, Mariupol, Voroshilovsk, Dnepro-Dzerzhinsk, Dnepropetrovsk, Yenakiyevo and Makeyevka—was lost for the duration of the war. The Soviet Union by the end of 1941 was deprived of roughly 60 per cent of its blast-furnace capacity, 40 per cent of its open-hearth capacity, 60 per cent of its blooming-mill capacity, 80 per cent of its heavy-steel capacity and 83 per cent of its pre-war capacity.<sup>6</sup> It was also deprived of roughly 65 per cent of its pre-war output of coal, 64 per cent of its iron-ore, and 48 per cent of its manganese production.<sup>7</sup>

The loss of the Donbas Industrial Region placed a heavy burden on the iron and steel mills of the Urals and Kuzbas industrial regions. The Soviet Union almost from the beginning of the war relied on the mills of Magnitogorsk and Kuzbas to supply the war economy with most of its iron and steel requirements. To bring about a rapid increase in the production of iron and steel, the government removed to the east such equipment as cranes, boilers, ingot stoppers, motors and turbines, presses, hammers and tuyeres, stocks from the areas that were threatened by the advancing German army. Heavy equipment that could not be moved was made inoperable.<sup>8</sup>

The increase in the iron and steel producing facilities of the eastern area during the war period is partly due to the aid received from the lend-lease program of the United States. Apart from the large quantities of ordnance and capital equipment, the United States exported to the Soviet Union a variety of basic steel products—ingots, blooms, bars and castings, plates, sheets, strips, structural iron and steel shapes, wire and wire products, and cast-

ings and forgings. The volume of exports of basic iron and steel products to the Soviet Union increased from 624,235 metric tons in 1942 to 803,219 in 1944.<sup>9</sup> These imports from the United States permitted the Soviet iron and steel industry to concentrate on the production of heavy capital equipment for its own expansion. The United States refused to honor the lend-lease requests of the Soviet Union for steel making equipment because it was needed for the expansion of our own steel industry.

#### *Post-War Development and Reconstruction*

The post-war plan resumed the construction program interrupted by the war. The program called for reconstruction of the war-ravaged industries in the Donbas industrial region and for the erection of new industrial facilities in the East. The government was intent upon making Siberia its major source of iron and steel production. By 1950 it accounted for 50.7 per cent of the total "planned" steel output. In contrast, the South's (Donbas) relative share dropped from 51.5 per cent in 1940 to 37.1 in 1950.<sup>10</sup> This decrease is not due to any appreciable drop in total output, but to the great increase in output by the other iron and steel centers. Lack of recent statistics prevents us from establishing accurately the present relative share of these regions in total steel output.

The nature and the scope of the post-war industrialization program was introduced by the Fourth Five-Year Plan in 1946. The plan called for reconstruction as well as new construction of iron and steel plants and for increased prospecting for raw materials.<sup>11</sup>

Besides the emphasis on the geographic redistribution of the industry, the Fourth Five-Year Plan also called for the adoption of technical innovations which would increase the level of mechanization around the furnaces and rolling mills, and thus increase per capita output. The leaders of the Soviet Union and of the iron and steel industry do not hesitate in adopting modern techniques, because they know from experience that the rapid growth of the industry was largely due to the wide application of technological innovations. Extensive research is being carried on by Soviet technicians and many of their technical inventions have been incorporated in the production of iron and steel. For example, the discovery of a new method

of producing cheap oxygen on a large-scale by Kapitsa has enabled the industry to increase the output per blast-furnace. Foreign technological innovations are also being used. To reduce the consumption of coke and the quantity of iron ore dust blown out the top of the furnace, a new technique known as high-top-pressure blast-furnace operation is being utilized by the Magnitogorsk steel plant.<sup>12</sup>

The paucity of information concerning the achievements or failures of the Fourth Five-Year Plan forces the Soviet student to rely on secondary sources of information. Holloway,<sup>13</sup> by consulting the book of Bardin and Bannyi,<sup>14</sup> press releases, announcements by Politburo members and by the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, has been able to compute production of pig-iron, steel and rolled steel for the entire post-war period. Table I shows his findings.

TABLE I  
SOVIET POST-WAR PRODUCTION OF PIG IRON,  
STEEL AND ROLLED STEEL  
(in millions of metric tons)

Year	Pig Iron	Steel	Rolled Steel
1945	8.9	12.25	8.5
1946	10.0	13.4	9.6
1947	11.4	14.6	11.0
1948	13.9	18.6	14.1
1949	16.6	23.3	17.9
1950	19.4	27.2	20.8
1953 <sup>15</sup>	27.3	38.0	29.5

The estimates of Holloway indicate that the planned goals of iron, steel and rolled steel have been attained. They also reveal that the Soviet Union not only reached the pre-war level of iron and steel production but surpassed it. Of world importance, however, is the fact that the relative share of the Soviet iron and steel industry in the total world production increased from 10 per cent in 1940 to 14.5 in 1950. The share of the United States increased from 43 per cent in 1940 to 49 in 1950.<sup>16</sup> Despite these gains, the Soviet level of production still has a long way to go to catch up with that of the United States.

#### *Handicaps*

The expansion of the Soviet iron and steel industry is hindered by the long distances between the iron and steel centers and their consumers. To reduce the cost of transport, the Soviet government has encouraged the growth of regional industrial centers, thus foregoing the benefits of regional specialization. Although the production costs are higher, the war potential of the Soviet Union is enhanced by this

trend. In the event of war the chances that the enemy would be successful in destroying all of the centers in a short time are very slim.

Another handicap is the scarcity of high-grade coking-coal and iron ore. The best deposits of ore were exhausted during the pre-war and war periods and future production will have to come from low-grade deposits. Beneficiation plants have been erected in the mining areas to improve the quality of processed coal and iron ore.

#### *Advantages*

At present the Soviet iron and steel industry is more flexible than that of the United States. Its ability to convert to war production is greater than that of the United States, because most of its production is in heavy capital goods designed for military or semi-military uses. According to Wohl during World War II, the Soviet Union was able to channel 70 per cent of its steel production into war production, while the United States devoted only 26 per cent for the production of war materiel.<sup>17</sup> The industry is also free from the pressure of the consumer goods industries for basic iron and steel products. The allocation of steel is predetermined by the planners and not by the industry itself.

Another advantage which the Soviet industry has over that of the United States is that in the event of war, the industry from European Russia would be evacuated to already established industrial areas in the east with large iron and steel facilities. Comparable areas in the United States — Birmingham, Fontana, Pueblo and Geneva — have at present limited capacity, due to smaller market areas and facilities of production.

#### *Conclusion*

The success of the Soviet Union in increasing its iron and steel output has increased its ability to produce either war goods or consumer goods. Nobody knows what course it will follow in the foreseeable future. Either course will affect its diplomatic relations with the rest of the world. An increase in the production of steel making equipment without a commensurate increase in the production of consumer goods would mean that the Soviet Union is preparing for the final battle between Communism and Capitalism. Undoubtedly, the future of the world, in part,

depends on what the Soviet Union wants to do with the products of its ever-increasing iron and steel industry.

<sup>1</sup> Harry Schwartz *Russia's Soviet Economy*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1950, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> *New York Times* July 10, 1954, p. 17, c. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> *New York Times*, July 10, 1954, p. 17, c. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Holloway, *The Development of the Russian Iron and Steel Industry*, Business Research Series No. 6 Graduate School of Business, Stanford University, Stanford, California, 1952, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Holloway, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> L. H. Herman, "Soviet Iron and Steel Industry," U. S. Department of Commerce, International Reference Series, Vol. 4, No. 27, Washington, D. C., July, 1947, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Nikolai Voznesensky, *The Economy of the U.S.S.R. during World War II*, Translated from Voyennaia Ekonomika SSSR v Period Otechestvennoi Voiny, Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C., 1947, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> Industrial Reference Service, United States Department of Commerce, *United States Exports of Iron and*

*Steel Products 1941-1944*, Vol. 4, Part II, No. 11, Washington, D. C., July, 1946.

<sup>10</sup> "Iron and Steel in the Soviet Union," *The World Today*, Vol. 8, No. 5, May, 1952, p. 217.

<sup>11</sup> Naum Jasny, "A Close-up of the Soviet Five-Year Plan," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. LXVI, No. 2, May, 1952, p. 159.

<sup>12</sup> Gardner Clark, "The Soviet Steel Industry," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XII, No. 4, pp. 404-10.

<sup>13</sup> Holloway, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>14</sup> Bardin and Bannyi, *Chernaia Metallurgia v Novoi Piatiletke*, Moscow Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1947.

<sup>15</sup> *New York Times*, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>16</sup> Erich Zimmerman, *World Resources and Industries*, Harper and Brothers, Publishers, New York, 1951, p. 659. At the end of W. W. II the U. S. produced 63 per cent of the world's steel output and 57 per cent of its pig-iron.

<sup>17</sup> *Christian Science Monitor*, Jan. 16, 1951. Wohl's estimates are based on the report of the United States War Production Board, *Wartime Production Achievements and Reconversion Outlook*, Washington, D. C., 1945.

## The Quest for International Order and Security

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From time immemorial, prophets and seers have dreamed of that day when, as Isaiah so dramatically put it, the people "shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks"; when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

To these prophets can be added a long list of philosophers, statesmen, and poets, who have not only voiced the same hopes but have essayed detailed schemes for bringing order, security, and peace into the community of nations—St. Isidore of Seville, Pierre du Bois, Dante Alighieri, Erasmus, Crucé, Hugo Grotius, the Duke of Sully, William Penn, the Abbé de Saint Pierre, Rousseau, Kant, Jeremy Bentham, William Ladd—representing nearly every significant period in Western history from the Fall of Rome to the 19th century.

In the fullness of time came the realization in part of these dreams and schemes: first the great international river commissions for the

Rhine, the Elbe, the Danube; then numerous international organizations dealing with particular subjects such as postal matters, the metric system, the Red Cross, patents and copyrights, and many others. The Hague Conferences in 1899 and 1907, though limited in scope, nevertheless blazed the way to greater possible order in the international community and laid the foundations for the prosecution of war criminals. Then out of the convulsive gestation of the First World War emerged the League of Nations, a truly revolutionary event. Never before in all recorded history had there been any such attempt at a multi-purpose universal organization of nation states. Let us not forget those who insisted on its creation, over the objections of contemporary cynics—Lord Robert Cecil, Leon Bourgeois, Jan Smuts, Woodrow Wilson.

With the shortcomings of the League of Nations we are not now concerned. With the improvement of the United Nations, its suc-



cessor, we are very much concerned. But lest we lose our perspective in judgment, we ought to remind ourselves that in the brief period since 1919, within a generation and a half, within the memory of many present readers, more solid progress in international organization and cooperation has been achieved than in all the centuries since Isaiah raised his prophetic voice. All that progress, however, is challenged by the development of new instruments of destruction and the emergence of ruthless political forces in various parts of the world. As within the nation state, so within the international community, the forces making for integration and harmony are constantly at war with the forces making for disintegration and conflict. The struggle between these forces will go on in the domestic community and in the international community as long as there is life. Confronted with this struggle in our domestic affairs, we do not ask for the impossible, nor do we despair. We keep planning and working toward our desired goals. We can do no less with the problems that confront us in the international community. Fortunately, we have a great instrument, the product of generations of hopes and planning, the response to deep-seated international needs, through which we can deal with many of these problems—the United Nations. If it were to be destroyed tonight, the needs of the international community would compel its creation again tomorrow.

Ten years ago, on October 24, 1945, the Charter of the United Nations went into effect. No better statement of the aims and purposes of the United Nations can be found than in the Preamble and Article I of the Charter. The Preamble reads:

"We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and  
to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and  
to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international

law can be maintained, and  
to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends  
to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and  
to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and  
to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and  
to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims."

It would be most gratifying if we could here give a full account of the many achievements of the United Nations within its brief span of existence. Sufficient for our purposes to recall a few. Thus it contributed to the withdrawal of Russian troops from Iran and French and British troops from Syria and Lebanon; to the ending of the Berlin Blockade; the preservation of Greece; the cessation of armed conflict in Palestine, Indonesia, Kashmir; and at present it is furthering the withdrawal of Kuomintang troops from Burma.

Three new nations owe their existence to the United Nations: Israel, Indonesia, and Libya. Other peoples, now in a colonial or trusteeship status, will no doubt emerge under the aegis of the United Nations as independent states in the years immediately before us. As never before in the long saga of "man's inhumanity to man," subject peoples everywhere can now hope that their grievances will be heard and that "justice" no longer "standeth afar off."

Through the Economic and Social Council, through the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, through the specialized agencies, particularly the World Health Organization, the International Labor Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and UNESCO, and through its special fund for children, UNICEF, the United Nations has helped raise the standards of living in many parts of the world, and to that degree has reduced the chances of civil or international war and Communist subversion. Through its refugee organi-

zations for Europe, for the victims of the Palestine warfare, and for Korea, the United Nations is discharging humanitarian tasks of staggering magnitude and importance.

No record of the achievements of the United Nations would be complete without mention of its work in the fields of narcotics control, juvenile delinquency, the enhancement of the status of women, the reduction of forced labor and slavery, the improvement of trade relations, and in many other humanitarian and economic fields.

It has had its failures too: in the abuse of the veto power in the Security Council; in the reduction of armaments program; in the admission of new members to the Organization; in the prevention of injustice to Indians and natives in South Africa. But, fortunately, efforts to solve these and other similar problems are continuing and the answers may come one day.

Three developments in the United Nations are of tremendous historic importance because they are "firsts" in the history of the world. For the first time, a general international organization was given the power to legislate the disposal of vast territorial areas. That occurred when the four great powers, France, the United Kingdom, Russia, and the United States, agreed in the Italian Peace Treaty that if they could not agree within a stipulated period on what to do with the former Italian colonies, the task was to be turned over to the General Assembly. In due course, the General Assembly received the authority and discharged its task, by creating an independent Libya, a temporary trusteeship for Somaliland, and federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia.

For the first time in history, a general international organization met and defeated aggression upon a victim state. That was in Korea.

And finally, for the first time in history, individuals and groups of individuals are recognized as having minimum rights which the community of nations must acknowledge. In this respect, the United Nations is filling a great gap in the legal structure of international society. Classic international law in the days of Hugo Grotius, in the 17th century, was regarded as applying to individuals through the law of nature. Succeeding generations of positivist jurists, however, confined the law of na-

tions to nation-states, and practice supported them. International law thus became inter-state law, with human beings benefiting from it derivatively through their national governments. Until recently, the only individuals with a direct status under international law were pirates, insurgents, and war criminals. This shortcoming, if such it was, is gradually being remedied through the adoption of law-making treaties with rights and privileges directly available to individuals. In this process, and through its organs and instrumentalities, the United Nations has made signal contributions to a developing law and practice which recognizes individuals as possessed of fundamental rights and privileges which international society ought to protect. Two examples of this movement are the Human Rights Declaration and proposed Convention and the Genocide Convention. Groups in various countries resent and resist this new emphasis on the individual as invasive of the historic rights of the sovereign state. In our own country, this resentment and resistance is reflected in the "Bricker Amendment" movement to curtail the treaty-making powers of the President and Senate. The kindest adjective that can be applied to the "Bricker Amendment" movement is that it is dangerously atavistic.

No well disposed person, honestly and objectively evaluating the record of the United Nations thus far, could come to any other conclusion than that it has rendered unprecedented service to the well-being and good order of the international community, and that the United States accordingly has benefited immeasurably from it.

Let us now consider briefly the review conference of the United Nations.

Because many of the smaller and middle-sized states at San Francisco were disappointed in the preferred position given to the five great powers in the Charter and because it was felt in any case to be a wise thing to do, the Charter provides in Article 109 that, mandatorily, at the tenth annual session of the General Assembly the proposal shall be put on the agenda whether a conference for reviewing the Charter shall be held. It should be noted that the word is "reviewing," not "revision," though proposals for amendment or revision may come out of the process of review. The proposal will therefore

come before the General Assembly in the fall of 1955. A reviewing conference will likely be held in 1956 or 1957.

The General Assembly has already directed the Secretary General to make certain preparations. These include the publication of some unpublished documents of the original San Francisco Conference in 1945, a survey of precedents of the United Nations organs, and a detailed index of the San Francisco documents. Various governments are also at work preparing for this review conference. In the United States, a sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations is conducting hearings in various sections of the country to get "grass roots" opinion; the Department of State is engaged in detailed studies of possible proposals. Many private organized groups are making studies of their own.

Numerous proposals will be urged upon the delegates to that conference. Let us examine the most extreme ones first and dispose of them. There are four principal ones.

First, it will be urged by some, for various reasons, that nothing be done, that the *status quo* be preserved. They would even prefer that no review conference be held at all. This is altogether too conservative a view and it breaks faith with the countries that signed the Charter in 1945 on condition that a review be held to examine how the organization has worked in the previous ten years.

A second proposal will likely come up to convert the United Nations into a tightly knit military alliance, obviously by expelling the Soviet bloc. Aside from the technical difficulties involved, such a diversion of the United Nations from its original purposes would probably result in its complete collapse. As it is, in spite of the obstacles and frustrations created in the United Nations by the Soviet bloc, the tide in the war of propaganda, thanks to the forum provided by the United Nations, is turning against them. As Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge has put it, the Soviets cannot control the United Nations; they cannot break it up; and they dare not leave it. It would hardly be good diplomacy for the Western World to solve their trilemma for them. Furthermore, as it is, the conduct of the Soviets has raised up against themselves NATO, SEATO, and the ANZUS defensive alliances, all under Article 51 of the

Charter, developments never contemplated at San Francisco, and which came into being chiefly because the Soviets did not permit the Security Council to function as it was originally intended to. Certainly the United States would not wish to abandon present going concerns such as these defensive organizations, or the wider Collective Security arrangements as now set up in the General Assembly, for a speculative untried scheme on paper.

Thirdly, there may be proposals that the United States seize the moment as propitious for withdrawing its own membership. That, of course, would be a catastrophic event for the United States. As President Eisenhower summed up the considered judgment of those who have the primary responsibility in the United States for safeguarding all of us: The United Nations "is far more than merely a desirable organization in these days. Where every new invention of the scientist seems to make it more nearly possible for man to insure his own elimination from this globe, I think the United Nations has become sheer necessity."

The fourth possible proposal of an extreme character has deceptive fascination. It is that the United Nations be converted into a super-state, along federal union lines. No responsible foreign office or experienced statesman has yet seriously proposed a global federal union. The five Central American states had a federal union at the beginning of the century: it lasted ten years. Several of the Western European nations are now laboring to establish one for themselves. Desirable as it is for Western Europe, it remains to be seen what will come of the effort. Political scientists and other students of governments in operation are pretty well agreed that substantial economic and social unity must precede federal union. There must be union in fact before there can be union in form. John Jay in his *Federalist* paper No. 2, urging the ratification of the American Constitution in 1787, was shrewd enough to point that out for the people of his day: we were already "one connected country" and "one united people." Federal union was possible in such a situation. No such situation obtains in the world community at present.

Other defects in the federal union argument could be pointed out: the need for the central



government to have independent powers to tax, to compel individuals, to create armed forces for internal and external security. In view of the "Bricker Amendment" movement in this country and similar movements in other countries, the granting of such powers to an international body is at present utterly inconceivable. Nor would the new states now emerging in the international community, who are exceedingly jealous of their freshly-won independence, welcome curtailment of it at any early date.

In brief, the conditions and the times are not ripe for any adventure into global federal union now. If genuine world government does come about in the foreseeable future, it may be doubted whether it will come under the classic federal form. If it does come, it more likely will be a by-product from a thorough-going scheme of control of atomic weapons or nuclear energy; or it may result from a union of regional unions; or it may come from a necessity to utilize in the common interest the water resources of the earth or the food resources of the sea. Whatever produces unity in fact in the world will also tend to produce increased unity in international organization. Of that we may be certain.

In summary then, none of these four extreme proposals are likely to receive endorsement by the United States government or serious consideration by the review conference.

Our realistic task is to deal with the United Nations as a going concern and try to improve it by such feasible means as are at our disposal. The Department of State has not yet taken any position on what proposals it will present to the reviewing conference when it meets. At the moment it is gathering the consensus of opinion in the United States. But certain topics have been mentioned with respect to which the United States will probably seek some improvements in the Charter.

(1) With respect to membership, it certainly would be desirable to make the United Nations as nearly universal as possible, bearing in mind "that there are some regimes that still completely disregard accepted standards of international conduct." Perhaps the criteria for membership in Article 4 ought to be changed, and certainly some effort should be made to

eliminate the veto in the Security Council with respect to this matter.

(2) Since the Security Council has been unable thus far to discharge its "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security," the question naturally arises whether it would be feasible to amend the Charter to permit the Council to act more effectively or whether efforts should be made to extend the functions of the General Assembly in the maintenance of peace. The central problem with respect to the Security Council would be, of course, to limit the use of the veto power. The United States is in favor of some limitation but not in the total abolition of its veto over some types of decisions, such as the commitment of armed forces to military action proposed by the Council.

(3) The most important question relating to the General Assembly deals with the one-state-one-vote principle there operative. With the emergence of an increasing number of small states upon the international scene, this problem will become more acute. In the Security Council, the veto principle gives the great nations disproportionate power; in the General Assembly the one-state-one-vote principle gives the small nations disproportionate power. It is suggested that perhaps some scheme of weighted voting can be worked out for the General Assembly that will satisfy both the large and the small states. It is further suggested that perhaps on some questions, a decision be taken by concurrent majorities of weighted votes and single votes. Political scientists have puzzled over the problem of weighted voting for many years. No single satisfactory scheme for use in a multi-purpose international organization has yet been devised.

(4) Various members of the United Nations have complained, increasingly of late, that the General Assembly has intruded too often into their domestic affairs contrary to the rule stated in Article 2, paragraph 7. This is a difficult Charter provision to construe, because what was purely domestic jurisdiction a generation ago may become a matter for international cognizance today. Efforts will no doubt be made to clarify the scope of competence of the General Assembly and other organs, such as the Trusteeship Council, in this respect.

(5) Without doubt, if progress along the

lines of international control of atomic and conventional armaments is not soon made, the reviewing conference will explore the possibility of devising new means to achieve the old ends. It may be that the Charter can be amended to facilitate such control.

(6) And finally, some effort undoubtedly will be made to speed up or supplement the present processes devoted to codification and progressive development of international law.

These are but a few of the directions in which thinking is taking place with respect to possible Charter changes or interpretation at the conference. No doubt hundreds of proposals will deluge the delegates, as they did at San Francisco in 1945. The task of statesmanship is to select those which have some chance of adoption as feasible and desirable. It is not likely or desirable that the Charter be rewritten. It is far better to go along with the Charter as it is now, than to risk rejection of some brand new instrument. The United Nations organs have already demonstrated under the present Charter a tremendous capacity to adjust themselves to new situations and to use reasonable implied powers from the powers already granted in the Charter.

It will be said, however, that since any Charter changes are subject to the veto power of the five members of the Security Council, not much hope for desirable changes can exist considering the present attitude of the Soviet

Government. We might recall, however, that though the Soviet Government could have insisted on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals of 1944 as the maximum of her concessions, she nevertheless accepted many changes in them at the conference in San Francisco in 1945, which produced the present Charter. If this spirit of accommodation should not exist this time, then the free world would have no alternative but to propose its changes and leave Russia to defend itself in the numerous bitter debates which would follow in the several organs of the United Nations. Even Russia would have to yield sometime on some of the proposals if it wished to maintain prestige as a great power. And if even that should not come to pass, then the several organs could by various changes in rules of procedure or by interpretations of their existing Charter authority proceed considerably along the lines an overwhelming majority might desire, as they have already done in a number of instances in the past. We ought not to discount too heavily the determination and the resourcefulness of the free world for the future.

The United Nations is the present end product of millenia of human efforts seeking international order and security. It will be as strong as the strength its member nations give it and those nations will support it to the degree their people demand. It is *our* United Nations, our best hope in a troubled world for a better life for many and safer life for all.

## The Teachers' Page

HYMAN M. BOODISH

*Dobbins Vocational-Technical School and The Junto Adult School, Philadelphia, Penna.*

### MENTAL HEALTH FOR TEACHERS

Contributing factors to poor mental health of any person may stem from one or more of the following sources:

1. Genetic predisposition
2. The demands made upon the individual by his job
3. The pressures of our fast moving, fast changing world
4. The overall personality of the individual

—the tensions that exist in his own private world, resulting from the interaction of his genetic predispositions with the total environment.

Without discounting all the possible pressures that any person may encounter in his world of work it is significant that of several persons confronting relatively similar situations daily, one may be approaching a nervous breakdown, while the others may be in fair,

good, or excellent mental health. Obviously, part of the difference among these people is in their basic personality structures. As in the case of the individuals subjected to Communist brain washing techniques, those who succumb first are the ones who, along with a variety of other reasons, have lower emotional breaking points.

Every person has an inherent capacity to endure and to resolve affective tension. One psychiatrist expressed it thusly:

"Some people can love deeply, hate intensely, sympathize widely, or suffer frustration without inner weakening or loss of efficiency. The emotional tension following a single kiss, on the other hand, may precipitate a psychic dissociation in another."

Dr. Leon Saul, in his book *Emotional Maturity*, compares the individual's emotional tolerance to the working efficiency of a motor vehicle.

"Anyone can be subjected to experiences so overwhelming that they surpass the ego's functional efficiency . . . trucks may break down because of a flaw in construction, but a perfectly good truck may break down under an excessive load."

School administrators concerned with the total well being of all school personnel must, of course, lessen or eliminate wherever possible as many of the unnecessary pressures associated with school work. However, part of the program of helping to maintain the mental health and the working efficiency level of school personnel must in some measure center on item number 4 above—the personality structure and the private world of the individual.

The following excerpt taken from the self-analysis writings of a teacher reveals how closely related is one's private world to the functioning efficiency on the job.

"Some of the things I am thinking may seem immature for a woman of —; however, that is the way I feel. For example, today I didn't go into work. Naturally, I feel guilty about this because physically I am capable of work. However, I just couldn't stand there today before my classes. Yesterday the children got on my nerves to the point where I wondered at noon how I could possibly finish the day. Junior high school children in groups of about forty or so, over about five hours, can be very wearing to

one's nervous system. All of this wear and tear I can take if I feel that there's something else in my life. . . ."

That something else concerned a personal aspect of the teacher's life which obviously had a powerful influence on her working efficiency and overall happiness.

Writing on this same subject, "The Mental Health of the Educator" in *Mental Hygiene* (July, 1954), Dr. Leo Berman of Boston describes an experimental project involving groups of educators and the Massachusetts Association of Mental Health. Below are significant excerpts:

"The aim of this project was to improve the functioning level of the educator at his work through increasing his understanding of himself, his students, and his colleagues. We thought that perhaps, through the utilization of a group-psychotherapeutic technique, in addition to the more familiar didactic and case-study seminar approaches, we would have a better chance of deepening the psychological understanding of the educator."

The actual procedure followed in this group therapy approach is as follows:

"Groups of from ten to fifteen educators meet with the group leader for from twelve to fifteen weekly sessions, each session lasting about two hours. The group members are asked to describe situations and incidents from their daily work that they may have found upsetting or that occasioned exaggerated or unduly prolonged emotional reactions in them. The main work of the group consists of an exploration of the whys of such irrational emotional reactions. Such inquiries lead to a limited and selective exploration of pertinent adolescent and childhood situations.

"In addition, as the development of the group proceeds, increasing attention is paid to the emotional reactions of the group members to one another and to the group leader, and an effort is made to relate such reactions to the troublesome situations at the individual's work and to his earlier life. At selected points during such work, the group leader utilizes some of the interactions that have occurred within the group as illustrations of various psychological phenomena that are otherwise difficult to grasp in a meaningful way. It may be apparent from this condensed statement that this technique is



neither strictly educational nor strictly psychotherapeutic. Rather, it contains elements of both approaches in a blended form."

What are the results of such sessions? The following example cited by Dr. Berman is illustrative of what can happen:

"Mr. Smith was a hard-working, conscientious, veteran faculty member of superior intelligence and ability, who rather frequently found himself at odds with his superior and with his colleagues. His work with students indicated a tendency toward authoritarianism. At various points during the group sessions, he complained about the peremptory fashion in which his superior issued orders. He found it difficult to understand why many of the other group members, who were all on the same faculty, did not entirely share his feelings.

"As the group gradually became more integrated, various members of the group felt sufficiently secure to inform Mr. Smith of his own dictatorial tendencies whenever they served with him on a committee of which he was chairman. As it became clear to Mr. Smith that these observations about his personality were being made in a basically friendly fashion, he began to examine himself more seriously and open-mindedly. With the help of the group and the group leader, he came to recognize how, against his best conscious intentions, he had been behaving in some ways like his harsh, over-moralistic father. At one point it suddenly struck him that his superior at work physically resembled his father. Follow-up observations about one year after the group was terminated indicated that Mr. Smith was less prone toward irritability and self-assertiveness, was, relatively, a more congenial faculty member, and did not tend as much toward a certain sharpness with his students."

A recent statistical analysis of deaths due to various diseases, during the years 1900 and 1954, showed a marked drop in the number of deaths due to such illnesses as pneumonia, tuberculosis, and diabetes. In one area of diseases only, those involving the heart and the circulatory system, was there not only no reduction but a very sizable increase in the number of deaths. The implication is obvious: the pressures and tensions of modern day living are taking their toll.

We do not have any statistics on whether

school people fare better or worse than do persons in other professions with respect to nervous breakdowns, or deaths due to heart and circulatory diseases. Be that as it may, the problem of reducing tensions among school people is a very real one. The techniques suggested by Dr. Berman might well be considered as one of the approaches. In-service courses and summer workshops have already proved quite popular with many teachers. It would be a simple matter to include among such in-service courses and workshops group discussion sessions whose major purpose would be increasing self-understanding and insight with respect to the dynamics of one's own behavior patterns.

#### PRAXIOLOGY

Students of the social sciences will be interested in the birth of a new science: *Praxiology*. Beginning this Fall, the newly founded University of Melbourne, Florida, will open its first school. It will be on a graduate level, limited to selected students and devoted, for the time being, to a single course in *praxiological philosophy*—"a course in the re-orientation and integration of education around the major problems with which living confronts mankind."

Along with the above venture, the University of Melbourne is undertaking the publication of a quarterly *Journal of Praxiology*. The initial (Spring, 1955) issue came to our attention during this past summer. The major portion of the Journal is devoted to excerpts from letters (along with editorial comments) received from persons in the field of the various behavioral sciences, to whom the editors of the Journal had written for comments regarding this venture in praxiology. The list of experts is impressive. Some of them will serve as visiting lecturers at the University. Their reactions are a mixture of approval, disapproval, and ambivalent feelings about the whole undertaking.

At present, the overall concept of praxiology seems to be still in a somewhat nebulous state. The several authorities who expressed their views in the quoted letters seemed to have different view points in their own interpretations of the meaning of praxiology. However, on the basis of all the letters submitted and the accompanying editorial comments, we venture to describe *praxiology* as the proposed field of study whose purpose will be to make use of all behavioral sciences and any other field of knowl-

edge in order to better understand individual behavior, as manifested in both personal activities and in social relationships.

#### NEW PROGRAMS ON TELEVISION FOR SOCIAL STUDIES

"See It Now," under the guidance of Mr. Edward R. Murrow, will appear less frequently than it did last year, but will be lengthened to one or one and a half hours. The extra length will allow "more depth in exploring a topic," according to Mr. Murrow. The first program, scheduled for October, should be of special interest to both teachers and students of social studies. It will deal with the Vice-Presidency as an institution. Part of the presentation will be dramatized. The other part will consist of historical photographs and of the other techniques used in these programs in the past.

#### HUMAN BEHAVIOR AND SOCIAL LIVING A Course Outline in Lesson Form for

##### High School Students

Beginning with this month's *Teachers' Page*, we shall include the first of a series of lessons in the above course of study. We hope it will be of value to schools which already have or which are contemplating the introduction of a practical course in this area of the Behavioral Sciences.

#### List of Lessons

1. To gain an awareness of the dynamics of human behavior.
2. To acquire an understanding of the biologic foundations of human behavior.
3. To acquire an understanding of the importance of heredity in personality development.
4. To gain an understanding of the psychophysiological foundations of human behavior.
5. To acquire an understanding of the importance of the emotions in human behavior.
6. To gain an overall view of the cultural foundations of human behavior and personality development.
7. Learning to live with our emotions.
8. Understanding the human mind.
9. To acquire wholesome attitudes towards dating.
10. Developing the right values towards love as a basis for marriage.

11. Developing the right attitudes towards choosing a mate.
12. Making marriage successful.
13. Keeping our mental health.
14. Getting help when needed.
15. Working for a living.

#### LESSON 1

#### TO GAIN AN AWARENESS OF THE DYNAMICS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR

##### *Beginning the Lesson*

- A. Have students write a short essay on: "Human Nature—How We Acquire It."
- B. Read some of the essays in class.
- C. Follow with a class discussion, leading to a consideration of the complexity of the factors in the dynamics of human behavior.

#### WORDS AND CONCEPTS WE NEED TO KNOW AND UNDERSTAND

##### *Vocabulary*

*Conscience:* That part of the human mind which regulates his behavior with respect to moral values (good or bad, right or wrong).

##### *Examples:*

"Conscience doth make cowards of us all."

(William Shakespeare)

"There is no judge so searching as conscience conducting its own trial."

(Victor Hugo)

*Dynamics:* The inner forces at work in a person which cause him to respond in one or more ways to situations in the environment.

*Examples of dynamic forces:* hunger, thirst, anger, desire for approval.

*Environment:* All things, living and non-living, material, mental, and spiritual, which surround a person and which influence his development.

*Physical environment:* Everything in a person's surroundings which is Nature-made—mountains, rivers, climate, temperature, rain.

*Social or cultural environment:* All human beings and the products of the work of human beings which influence a person's development.

*Examples:* Parents, brothers and sisters, neighborhood, furniture, church, teachers, books, newspapers, television.

*Heredity:* The transmission of characteristics from parents to offspring through the fertilized ovum.

*Human behavior:* All actions (visible or un-

seen), thought processes, and emotional responses of people.

*Examples:* laughing, crying, smiling, running, thinking, day dreaming, solving problems, reading a book.

*Identical twins:* Twins always of the same sex, who have developed from the splitting of one fertilized ovum (female reproductive cell).

*Instincts:* Innate (born with) patterns of behavior having a specific purpose or goal.

*Neuroses:* (Mental illness): A failure, in varying degrees, on the part of a person to adjust to everyday conditions of living.

*Personality:* The sum total of all the characteristics of an individual, including the way he acts and feels under various conditions of living.

*Philosophers:* Persons who attempt to explain the meaning and purpose of life by thinking or writing about life.

*Psychiatry:* A branch of medicine similar to psychoanalysis but differing from it in certain approaches in treating mentally sick people.

*Psychoanalysis:* A branch of medicine and of psychology which (1) deals with the theory of the structure and development of the human personality; (2) attempts to treat and help mentally sick people.

*Psychology:* The study of all aspects of human behavior. The field of psychology is so broad that for practical purposes, it is subdivided into several branches or subject areas, such as: animal psychology; industrial psychology; abnormal psychology; clinical psychology; educational psychology; social psychology.

*Theory of Evolution:* The belief, based on a systematized but incomplete collection of facts, that all living things, including man, have descended from simpler forms of life. Evolution comes about as a result of *mutations* (accidental changes) which improve the animal's adaptation to its environment.

### THINGS TO DO

#### A. Answer the Following Questions

1. What is your own definition of human nature? personality? happiness?
2. Do you think human nature can be changed? Explain.
3. What are your own ideas about the expression: "Man Chisels his Own Destiny?"

#### B. Projects and Reports

1. Keep a daily record for one week of some of the things you do. See if you can discover the real reasons or motives for your behavior.
2. Write a short paragraph on the words in the *Vocabulary* you least understand.
3. Write a brief account on how you are affected by the following:
  - a. Having to speak before a group.
  - b. Someone entering the room when you are the only one there.
4. Committee report: present before the class a résumé of the early theories about human nature.

#### C. What to Read

Menninger, William C., *Understanding Yourself*. (Pamphlet) pp. 1-6

Eisenberg, Philip, *Why We Act As We Do*. Ch. 3.

Grabbe, Paul, *We Call It Human Nature*

## Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Jr. High School, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews has available a pamphlet, "Human Relations and Audio-Visual Materials," for use in secondary schools. Teachers interested in it will find it available at 381 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

### FILMS

*Puritan Family of Early New England*. 1 reel. B&W. or Color. Coronet Films.

Tells what Puritan family was like.  
*Colonial Life in New England*. 1 reel. B&W. or



Color. Coronet Films.

A young lawyer tells about the way of life in cosmopolitan Boston, and the difficulties caused by the British.

*Colonial Life in the Middle Colonies.* 1 reel.

B&W. or Color. Coronet Films.

Portrays life in the pre-Revolution middle colonies.

*Colonial Life in the South.* 1¼ reels. B&W. or Color. Coronet Films, Chicago 1, Ill.

Depicts life in the southern colonies during the pre-Revolutionary period.

*Underwater Story.* 20 min. Rental. British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

Film provides scientific information on world food problems.

*Tomorrow Is Theirs.* 16 min. Rental. British Information Services.

Describes the life, work, and leisure activities of the young people of the many races who make up the population of Malaya.

*Life on a Cattle Ranch.* 1 reel. B&W. or Color. Sale. Coronet Films.

*Life on a Sheep Ranch.* 1 reel. B&W. or Color. Sale. Coronet Films.

*Belgium and the Netherlands: Lands and Peoples.* 1 reel. B&W. or Color. Coronet Films.

Film shows how easy access to the North Sea and many waterways help to make Belgium and the Netherlands "the trading workshops of Europe."

*What About Juvenile Delinquency?* 1 reel. Sound. Sale. Young America Films, Inc., 18 E. 41 St., New York, N. Y.

A film deliberately designed to stimulate group discussion of the problems of juvenile delinquency.

*The Middle East.* 14 min. Sound. Sale or Rental. Encyclopedia Britannica Films., Wilmette, Ill.

This film presents a little known area of the world, and makes clear some of its problems. It points out that the Middle East is the center of the Islamic faith. It describes the vast historical tradition of this area. On an animated map, the film shows the small part of the Middle East which can be used for agriculture. It points out the three major rivers of the area and describes the rich products of the irrigated land. The rest of the land is suitable for grazing.

The film discusses the relationship of the Middle East with the rest of the world. The vast oil deposits of the Middle East are of extreme importance, since oil is the Middle East's major export. After noting other exports and imports the film locates the major cities of the area.

C. J. LITTLE, Guest Reviewer  
Cedar Rapids, Iowa

#### FILMSTRIPS

*Economic Geography Maps.* 30 fr. Sale or Rental. Young America Films.

Depicts 20 basic economic maps needed by the teacher.

*Outline Maps.* 30 fr. Sale or Rental. Young America Films.

Depicts 24 outline maps of world and continents.

*Backgrounds of Our Freedom.* 3 in Series. B&W. Sale. Heritage Filmstrips Inc., 89-11 63 Drive, Rego Park 74, New York, N. Y.

*Zenger and Freedom of the Press.* . . . .45 fr.

*Development of the British Electoral System*

Part I . . . . .45 fr.

Part II . . . . .45 fr.

*Filmstrips on Yugoslavia.* Color. Sale. Teacher's Guide. Film Research Associates, 304 Pinebrook Blvd., New Rochelle, N. Y.

Shows historical background of Yugoslavia in authentic fashion.

a) *Yugoslavia—Balkan Bastion*

b) *The Yugoslav People and Their Customs*

c) *A Scenic Trip Through Yugoslavia*

*National Park Series.* 6 in Series. Color. 50 fr. each. Sale. Maeseler Pictures. Amity Rd., Woodbridge, Conn.

Carefully planned to make available the rich teaching materials of our National Parks.

a) *Our National Park System*

b) *Yosemite*

c) *Grand Canyon*

d) *Yellowstone*

e) *Zion and Bryce*

f) *Mesa Verde*

*New Conquests of Nature.* 55 fr. B&W. Sale. Office of Educational Activities, *The New York Times*, Times Sq., New York 36, N. Y.

It explores the great strides in the knowledge of nature's secrets and the resulting benefits. It examines the lengthening life span from new penetrations into the mystery of growth and new methods of combating disease.

## RECORDINGS

Enrichment Materials Distributors, 246 Fifth Ave., New York 1, N. Y., has more recordings available on books based on Landmark Series.

- a) *Riding the Pony Express*. 78 r.p.m. (ER 104); 33 1/3 r.p.m. (ER 102).

Hear how riders were secured; listen to the Indian fights; last days of the venture that united East with West. Hear songs of the West.

- b) *Paul Revere and the Minute Men*. ER 105; ER 103.

Attend with Paul the Sons of Liberty Meetings, the Boston Tea Party, etc. Hear songs of the Revolution.

- c) *Our Independence and the Constitution*. ER 106, ER 103.

Thrill to the noisy spirit that forged a new country; with authentic colonial songs and music.

## Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia, Pa.

*Economic History of the United States*. By Howard R. Smith. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1955. Pp. xxxii, 763. \$6.00.

Professor Smith has written an excellent text for the college student of American economic history since in it a survey of the evolution of that economy from pre-colonial days to 1954 is presented in a clear, competent and highly readable fashion. By means of a thoughtful and thorough balance of the strands of agricultural, financial and industrial development, the author makes the book one in which the growth of the American economy is nicely integrated into the larger development of American civilization. In this regard the reader is constantly reminded that economic institutions do not arise in a vacuum but out of the interactions and pressures of competing interests in a society; that their growth reflects the conflicts and compromises which shape the whole of American society.

In a field of historical writing in which clarity is too often lost in a maze of poorly digested detail, it is refreshing to find a text which combines a mastery of factual material with an appealing literary style. These qualities should enhance the text's very genuine value to the student. This reviewer finds the *Economic History of the United States* particularly meritorious for a number of other reasons. Using a chronological-narrative organization, Dr. Smith

places the emphasis in his history upon the significant aspects of the economy in each period without excluding any economic phenomenon peculiar to that era; he makes clear, by means of brief footnotes, various economic concepts as they are concerned in the evolving "story"; and he systematically outlines the growing role of government and the impact of wars on American economic life. The author gives particular attention to the whole anti-trust movement (with the coincident tendency towards consolidation and combination), showing how impossible its task, the unreality underlying much of its efforts and the gradual elimination or moderation of the evils prompting the protest.

All in all, *Economic History of the United States* is a fresh addition to the current collection of economic histories. In its major task of offering a thoughtful, comprehensive account of the emergence of the American economy, it is highly successful. The author's knowledge of his subject, his chosen method of organization and enviable clarity of style will make the book one of rare usefulness.

PHYLLIS BATE SPARKS

Washington, D. C.

*Soviet Civilization*. By Corliss Lamont. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. New and Enlarged Edition. Pp. xxx, 447. \$5.00.

Lamont has used the following formula for his apology of "Soviet Civilization": he usually presents an attractive general principle which glorifies what Soviet Russia has been doing; to prevent any criticism of the violations of that principle by a critical observer, he minimizes them by making them appear as being passing and exceptional cases; and, to clinch his arguments on behalf of Soviet Russia, he compares such violations to similar incidents in the United States and elsewhere. The result is that all intellectual fellow travellers will consider Lamont the real source for an understanding of the USSR; the serious student of that country will get a bad case of indigestion.

To be fair to Lamont, one would have to take chapter after chapter and write another book about the fallacies and misguided assumptions presented on nearly every page. What is a serious student of the Soviet problem to think about Lamont when hearing such gems as: "Of all the primary documents from original Soviet sources most conducive to an understanding of the U.S.S.R. the Soviet Constitution ranks first" (p. 50). Using the semantical juggling (described above), Lamont then proceeds to hint that everything has not been going well along that Soviet front; after all "We need not, then, accuse Soviet Russia of hypocrisy simply because some of the ideals written into its Constitution have not been fulfilled a short sixteen years after the adoption of that constitution" (p. 52); and, to clinch the point: "Of course all state constitutions are paper constitutions and their actualization is seldom speedy or complete. For example, the Bill of Rights has been part of the United States Constitution for almost 160 years, but is still constantly, flagrantly and widely violated. . . ." (p. 51). Or, in the next chapter, "Soviet Ethnic Democracy," we learn that "To all acts of ethnic discrimination whether against the Jews or other minorities, the Soviet Republic has put an end" (p. 104). Furthermore, "Even more important, in my judgment, than the setting up of (the) Jewish Autonomous Region is the fact that the Soviets have virtually eliminated throughout the U.S.S.R. the virulent and often violent anti-Semitic discrimination and persecution that prevailed in Tsarist days" (p. 99). Then follows the trick of Lamont's formula: "The Soviet Government is sometimes accused

of hostility toward Jews because it opposes Judaism, their religion, and Zionism. . . . But the Soviet Government, controlled as it is by the Communist Party, discourages *all* religions in the U.S.S.R. (while protecting their freedom of functioning) and is against Zionism as a bourgeois nationalist manifestation" (p. 99). This mumbo-jumbo reasoning is continued in the following chapter on "Soviet Russia and Religion," where the anti-religious tendencies of Dialectical Materialism get even mixed up with America—for "in fact, the three most eminent American philosophers of the twentieth century—John Dewey, George Santayana and Morris R. Cohen—give no place to God. . . ." (p. 130).

This sort of twisted logic goes on through the chapters on Soviet Economic and Cultural Progress, Contrasts between Soviet Socialism and Fascism, and American-Soviet Relations. This last section would be even funny, were it not for the deadly set *ex cathedra* statements of Lamont: "There are five main points in Soviet foreign policy. First and foremost, the Soviet Union wants peace above all else in its international relations" (p. 282), proclaims Lamont—without admitting that, so far, it has been "Stalin's [Bulganin's] Peace, piece by piece." Soviet Russia has promoted no "aggression" in Eastern Europe (p. 324) and the Slavs there "feel a deep kinship with the Slavs of Soviet Russia; and because close economic and political relations with the U.S.S.R. seem to their national self-interest" (p. 325). And, lo, and behold: "In my judgment the Soviet Union not only can never achieve world domination; it also does not include this aim in its dynamic view of the future" (p. 327). Is not poor Lamont acquainted with his favorite author, Stalin, who, for instance, proclaimed in 1924: "The victory of Socialism in one country is not a self-sufficient task. The revolution which has been victorious in one country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity, but as an aid, a means for hastening the victory of the proletariat in all countries."

Is it worth while to waste our time on providing further examples of Lamont's bilge? (Incidentally, to soften the shock which his treatment might give to an unsuspecting reader, the book opens with 28 pages, covered with Lamont's Preface, Henry Pratt Fairchild's



Introduction, and James Aronson's Introduction to the Second Edition.) The book is recommended to all who want the least reliable analysis of Soviet Russia. It is loosely written, prone to overstatements and so full of wild assertions and comparisons that are not properly substantiated, that it falls far too short of a careful and authoritative treatment which it claims to be.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

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*The Death of the Fourth Republic.* By Ronald Matthews. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishing Company, 1954. Pp. xv, 318. \$5.00.

The Third Republic foundered on blindness, incompetence and corruption. The Fourth Republic is going the same way, and for the same reasons. That is the theme of this harsh and angry book by Mr. Matthews. The events of the past ten years have driven him into despair. Only "with bitter laughter or angry tears," he observes, is it possible to recall the exultant writings of the underground that promised social justice to the millions who had been betrayed by the political and financial gangsters of the Third Republic. It may well be that some of the details of the author's criticisms are slightly out of focus; but this is a minor and unimportant objection. The fact is that Mr. Matthews has produced a remarkably accurate diagnosis of France's ills. His love for France and his admiration for the strangled ideals of the Resistance are evident on every page of this well-written book. It must be read by all who profess to take an interest in the future of Western Europe.

It is not only in France, of course, that corruption and incompetence are rife. But in all the Western World there are few if any countries where the blind and the corrupt have the same blatant influence as in France. Is it because French constitutional practice leaves a power vacuum that gangsters and careerists are quick to fill? It was M. Robert Schuman who wrote a few years ago (in a discussion on French policy in North Africa) that he had formed the conviction that "no important reform in the relations between France and

Morocco or Tunisia would be possible without a return to exact conceptions of responsibility and of subordination to properly constituted authority." And Mr. Matthews recalls how the Indo-Chinese affair had been bedevilled for years by insubordinate officials and speculators without any status in the administrative hierarchy, but with an expert knowledge of wire-pulling in Paris.

Universal suffrage combined with proportional representation and a multiplicity of parties appear to have led to such a diffusion of power as to paralyse the national will. Mr. Matthews recalls that M. Blum himself, writing from prison, wondered whether the parliamentary regime really was "the form of democratic government exactly adapted to French society"; and that it might therefore be necessary to "seek for forms that suited it better."

The foolish anti-clericalism of French Socialists and Radicals is one reason why parliamentary government in France is in such obvious difficulties. Their prejudices make it impossible for them to combine with the M.R.P. in a strong left-center government, which might have done for France what the British Labor Party has done in Great Britain. If these parties remain frozen in their outdated nineteenth-century attitudes they may well destroy French hopes of establishing a regime that combines freedom with a capacity for action. Mr. Matthews also notes the effect of Communist duplicity. As the largest single party in France it is obviously able to bring parliamentary government to a standstill, especially if its opponents remain split on the clerical question. Yet through the party's perfidy is obvious, Mr. Matthews does not altogether explain why so many voters continue to support it. Is it an act of despair? Or are all the other parties so contaminated that those who wish to protest can do so only by voting Communist?

New York University  
New York

GABRIEL GERSH

*Introduction to International Relations.* By C. P. Schleicher. New York: Prentice Hall Inc., 1954. Pp. xvi, 941, \$6.00.

This is a clearly written, well organized, and most useful text in the field of International

Relations. It contains a wealth of factual material which is grouped under meaningful headings, and defines and clarifies important terms and concepts.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I is on Principles and Dynamics and contains chapters with the following titles: How to Think about International Relations, Elements of National Power, Modern Nationalism, Sovereignty, The Institution of War, etc.

Part II deals with Foreign Policies and Area Problems. Seven of the ten chapters of this part have been written by area specialists. The areas discussed are Great Britain and the Commonwealth, Soviet Russia, Europe, the Middle East, the Far East, South and Southeast Asia, and Latin America. These concise essays, likewise introductory in character, summarize well the most recent history of these areas and raise some of their fundamental problems.

Part III, Organizing the World Society, contains a detailed discussion of the League of Nations and of the United Nations, with emphasis on the latter organization in action. Each chapter is followed by a succinct summary and by questions and projects which should be of help in reviewing the material.

Experts in the field of International Relations do not readily agree either on its scope or on its methods. The author holds that the student of International Relations is forced to draw upon different techniques and all of the social sciences (38). He may "risk the danger of amateurishness," but he is "less likely to interpret international relations in terms of a particular specialization," as for instance geographers, economists, or "even" historians may be inclined to do.

According to the author, a formal course in International Relations is an "important," an "essential" ingredient of "liberal or general education." Ignorance in this important field, even on the part of college graduates, is held to be appalling, and influence of the public on foreign policy has not kept pace with the general growth of democracy in other spheres. While there appear to be limits to making the American public "expert" in the field of foreign affairs, it is held possible to deepen the understanding of our foreign policy and of international relations and especially to dispel what

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D. W. Brogan has considered the greatest weakness of Americans in foreign affairs, their "illusion of American omnipotence."

To gain perception in foreign affairs, it is first of all held necessary "to develop methods of analysis for making sense out of the many complex events and trends." While one will readily agree with the author's objectives, one may wonder whether there is not a bit too much emphasis on the need of equipping ourselves "with certain intellectual tools" and of developing a "realistic and systematic conceptual framework" (14). There can be little doubt about the need to clarify such terms as power politics, isolation, nationalism, and numerous others, yet to this reviewer at least it appears that no mysterious tools or techniques are required to give adequate definitions and lucid answers to questions in the field of international relations. What is necessary — and it is not little — is a searching and logical mind, impatience with clichés and rigid categories, and an objectivity which has freed itself from nationalist and other shackles. By these stand-

ards, this is a book that can well be recommended for introductory courses in International Relations.

ALFRED D. LOW

Marietta College  
Marietta, Ohio

*American Heritage*. J. Parton, publisher, American Heritage, 551 5th Ave., New York 17, N.Y. Annual subscription rate for six volumes, \$12.00; single copies, \$2.95.

The June 1955 copy of *American Heritage* has everything—looks, ideas, and the solid support of the country's outstanding historians, experienced journalists, and creative writers.

Back in 1949, the American Association for State and Local History started a popular history magazine with a handsome cover, striking color illustrations and a wealth of human interest features. This publication attracted widespread attention, and a demand arose for the same thing in more permanent form. The answer is the new *American Heritage*—in book form.

The book is elaborately illustrated, with 29 pictures in full color and 55 in black and white, and with a most attractive cover. Among the 12 major articles in this book are a new study of the boyhood of Alexander Hamilton written by Dorothy Dobbe, which brings out the detailed facts regarding Hamilton's illegitimate birth and difficult childhood in the West Indies; an account by Lyman Butterfield of the "golden anniversary of America's Independence Day in 1826 "when by strange coincidence Thomas Jefferson and John Adams died within a few hours of each other; an analysis by Oscar Handlin of the sinking of the liner *Lusitania* by a German U-Boat in 1915; and a study by the western author George Stewart of the difficulties of an emigrant party crossing the high Sierras a decade before the Civil War.

Everyone who picks up this book is going to go through it, article by article, picture by picture and probably word by word reliving in his imagination one of the colorful phases of America's past. This book appeals to a wide range of readers, old and young alike, and a variety of tastes . . . simple and sophisticated. It will be a welcome addition to classroom libraries, including those in junior high school

classrooms, where the illustrations will fascinate and inform even the slower readers who aren't yet ready for the articles themselves.

Social Studies teachers are going to find this book not only attractive, not only interesting, but also invaluable as a teaching aid. These books tend to recapture our past. We are what we are because of our past. The dreams we have recaptured and, perhaps, refined from those who traveled before us. To know the past better is to know ourselves better—and nothing is more important for us today.

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Jr. H. S.  
Mt. Vernon, N.Y.

*The Story of American Democracy*. By Mabel B. Casner and Ralph H. Gabriel. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1955. Pp. 220. \$3.50. Third Edition.

Two teachers, one a history professor at Yale and the other a public elementary school teacher, have produced a textbook which will be welcomed in any school library. Presenting no startling innovations, the format is a conventional one: four broad sections of time subdivided into ten units, preceded by thirty-two pages of such vivid panoramic materials as pictures, poems and other features on the growth and development of America, its natural resources and its democratic way of life. Each unit presents an informative introduction, a time line and an outline of each of its constituent chapters, with a review of the entire unit contents and an adequate bibliography at its conclusion. The chapters conclude with the usual words, events, dates, geographical locations for study and review, as well as discussion questions. A reference section at the end of the book presents facts on states, territories, Presidential elections and other historical events. There is a wealth of illustrative materials; charts, graphs, pictures and maps which are artistic and instructive and, at appropriate places, short one or two column biographies of prominent Americans. The pages are divided into two vertical columns of text.

The style of the book is intended for the needs of the younger secondary school student where a maximum of explanation and guidance is required; the authors devote six pages to



an excellent analysis of the Declaration of Independence and twenty-seven to the Constitution of the United States; the space devoted to the beginnings of banking, political parties and tariffs is much more extensive than usually found in other texts.

JOHN L. KEYNES

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#### GENERAL

*Along the Sullivan Trail*, by Lawrence E. Eyres, P. O. Box 448, Elmira, New York. Price 75 cents.

This booklet should be especially interesting to teachers of Pennsylvania History since this expedition played such an important part in the history and development of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Until the time of this Campaign, the settlers of the frontier area were being constantly harassed by the Indians, which raids reached their peak at the time of the terrible Wyoming Massacre of 1778.

#### BOOK NOTES

*The American Adventure*, by Bertrand M. Wainger. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Incorporated, 1955. Pp. xxxii, 707. \$4.00.

The American Adventure is written to encourage students to read, as it is written for use in seventh and eighth grade. It shows American history the way it took place and the highlights in the history of our country. This text contains 300 photographs and 200 drawings, maps, charts and graphs that are specially well planned. Color is used in them to increase their value as teaching tools.

#### PAMPHLETS

*The Decline of Rome and the Rise of Mediaeval Europe*, by Solomon Katz. Cornell University Press, 124 Roberts Place, Ithaca, New York. Price \$1.25.

*The New American School for Adults*, by Louis K. Mather. National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

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- John A. Kasson, Politics and Diplomacy from Lincoln to McKinley.* By Edward Younger, Iowa City, Iowa: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1955. Pp. xix, 433. \$5.00.
- Social Problems in America, A Source Book.* By Elizabeth Bryant See and Alfred McClure Lee. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1955. Pp. xxv, 483. \$3.75. Revised Edition.
- The Beginning Teacher.* By Wilbur A. Yauch, Martin H. Bartels, and Emmet Morris. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1955. Pp. xvi, 339. \$3.50.
- A Sociology of Education.* By Wilbur B. Brookover. New York: American Book Company, 1955. Pp. xv, 436. \$4.75.
- The Mine Workers District 50.* By James Nelson. New York: Exposition Press, 1955. Pp. ix, 156. \$2.75.
- The story of the Gas, Coke, and Chemical Unions of Massachusetts, their growth into a National Union.
- Security for All and Free Enterprise.* By Henry I. Wachtel. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. Pp. 162. \$3.00.
- The People of Panama.* By John and Mavis Biesanz. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. Pp. 418. \$5.50.
- Backways of Kentucky.* By Hylan Servis. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955. Pp. xii, 337. \$5.00.
- Roman Civilization.* By Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. Pp. ix, 652. \$7.50. Volume II.
- Political Science.* By G. A. Jacobsen and M. H. Lipman. New York: Barnes and Noble, Incorporated, 1955. Pp. xxi, 244. \$1.25. College Outline Series.
- Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties.* By Samuel A. Stouffer. New York: Doubleday and Company, Incorporated, 1955. Pp. ix, 278. \$4.00.
- Economics and Action.* By Pierre Mendes-France and Gabriel Ardant. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. Pp. xvii, 222. \$3.50.
- Approaching Equality of Opportunity in Higher Education.* Edited by Francis J. Brown. Washington, D. C. American Council on Education, 1955. Pp. 132. \$1.50.
- Appointment with Fortune.* By Marius Hansome. New York: Vantage Press, 1955. Pp. 247. \$3.50.
- Wheels West.* By Homer Croy. New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1955. Pp. xv, 242. \$3.75.
- Delinquent Boys. The Culture of the Gang.* By Albert K. Cohen. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955. Pp. v, 201. \$3.00.
- The Strange Career of Jim Crow.* By C. Vaun Woodward. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. Pp. iii, 155. \$2.50.
- Hunter College, Eighty-five Years of Service.* By Samuel White Patterson. New York: Lautern Press Incorporated, 1955. Pp. xiv, 263. \$3.50.
- Principles of the In-Finite Philosophy.* By Jefferson C. Barnhart. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. Pp. vi, 68. \$2.75.
- Social Science. An Introduction to the Study of Society.* By Elgin F. Hunt. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1955. Pp. xxvii, 741. \$6.90.

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